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2. COUNTRY AND PEOPLE

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The zones of land surface into which the territory divides itself, though they belong less to history than to geography, may be briefly mentioned since they deeply affect the life of the inhabitants and reflect their ethnology.

First comes the mountain belt in the north and north-east. A part of the main Armenian and Zagros system, it formed in 1900 the sanjaq of Sulaymaniya and a large part of those of Mosul and Shahrizur. This terrain is wholly un-Arabian, the population solidly Kurdish. Its mountains, mainly barren but carrying also areas of forest, are divided by deep valleys sometimes widening into plains. The hardy inhabitants of its hundreds of villages produce crops of grain, rice, vegetables, fruit, and tobacco, grown on the water of springs and rivulets and the relatively abundant rain. The climate is equable in summer, harsh in winter, the landscape commonly of striking beauty.

In the flattish submontane area of Mosul and Shahrizur sanjaqs lie treeless uplands and the lower courses of the Greater and Lesser Zabs. Here, in ancient Assyria, village-dwelling cultivators grow spring grain crops on rain and, in places, by water-lift from the rivers. The country is intermediate in environment and race between the mountain zone and the hot flatlands of central 'Iraq. The latter, the most extensive and most characteristic region of the country, covered the sanjaqs of Baghdad and Karbalā and most of Ḥilla. Everywhere dead flat and stoneless, it is unblessed, save in rare seasons, by rainfall sufficient for crop-growing, and must needs be cultivated by lift or flow from controlled canals or flood-channels. The crops are winter and summer grain and vegetables, locally some rice, and vast gardens of dates. The population, entirely Arab, lives in mud-built villages or in clusters of hair tents or reed huts.

The equally flat silt-country of the lower Tigris–Euphrates delta, astride and below the prehistoric coast-line, covered the southern part of the Ḥilla sanjaq and almost the whole of the three sanjaqs of 'Amara, Muntafiq, and Baṣra. It was characterized by a higher proportion of reed dwellings, fewer mud villages: by lesser crops of wheat and barley, but extensive rice-growing in the flooded areas: by miles of date gardens, and by a special way of life developed by the buffalo breeders, mat weavers, and fishermen in the great marshes.

Ignoring the Arabian dependencies of Baṣra, two other zones remain to be mentioned. One is that of the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab in the Baṣra sanjaq, with its miles of ordered date gardens in a lean strip between river and desert: the other is that of the arid steppe

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country, often too rainless to produce even the minimum of grazing. It lies, equal in area to the rest of 'Iraq, in the Shamiya desert south-west and west of Euphrates, in the upper Jazira, east of Tigris below Baghdad, and above it astride the Jabal Ḥamrin. These wastes belonged to the true camel-breeding Arab nomads; their inlying fringes, near to the rivers, were the home of the half-settled shepherd sections of cultivating tribes.

The inhabitants of all these regions varied widely in the nearness of their approach to urban civilization and the reach of government. Nearest came the citizens of the towns: then the settled village-dwellers, then the tribal cultivators in their clusters of dwellings, then the marshmen, the half-settled shepherds on the desert fringe, and finally the pure bedouin. These last were and are by far the least numerous element; to regard 'Iraq as largely a bedouin territory is a common error, since much of the country has always afforded the possibility of settled life, and bedouin are found only where no other form of life is possible.

Of the population of the three wilayas, no reliable estimate could be given then or later. The census in Turkish times was conducted, with feeble and venal inefficiency, only in towns and only for conscription purposes. The figures supplied by tribesmen or urban community heads varied with their fears or hopes of liability or benefit. The wilaya of Baṣra in 1900, excluding its Arabian areas, may have contained half a million souls; that of Baghdad perhaps a million and a quarter, that of Mosul less than half a million. A total of midway between two and two and a half million people may fairly be estimated.

The races of which the population consisted, and by each of which some contribution was made, were various. Arabs formed the great majority. But who were these? The folk even of earliest Arabia were of mixed physical types, and it is as idle to look for 'racial purity' in their later offshoots as in other races of the modern world. The Arabs of 'Iraq, in 1900 as today, were Arabic-speaking "Iraqis': a unified amalgam containing physical elements of every population who, from prehistory, had entered the river valleys as invaders or immigrants, and had been assimilated to form that 'Iraqi community which Arabs of Arabia had subjugated in the seventh century A.D. and, by vigour of their arms and faith, had turned into 'Arabs' like themselves. The 'Iraqi people by the end of the nineteenth century were oblivious of—would have denied—any other cultural or ethnic associations.

Within their community the shared tradition and pride of race far outweighed, in most relationships, the differences created by variety of environment, dialect, and material interest: yet these, too, could be formidable as between town and tribe, and as between

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The social development which these processes entailed represented no steady internal evolution, had been sought by no part of the population, and corresponded to no inventiveness of spirit. It had been imposed from without, partly by pressure of world discoveries such as steamship and telegraph, partly by the largely unintended impact of the West at many points, partly by Government action; and it had been accepted without discrimination. Ideas of doubtful value, glib catchwords from European politics, social observances strange to the East, had been welcomed because new, with little knowledge of their significance. There was no care for the true bases of European thought or virtue.

Meanwhile it was all too obvious that 'Iraq society, whatever the merits, the humanity or social gifts of its members, was afflicted by serious evils. The level of enlightenment was low by any standards, gross superstition was rife, women were treated as inferior beings. Security was uncertain even in the towns, thanks to unpunished crime and the survival of a bullying fanaticism directed, in bad times, at the minorities. Malnutrition was the lot of four-fifths of the population. The infant death rate was among the highest in the world. Many diseases were endemic because untreated, and combined to produce a race physically mediocre or inferior; such were malaria, sand-fly fever, bilharzia, hookworm, dysentery, typhoid, smallpox, the venereal diseases, and epidemic cholera. And dominating all lay the pervasive curse of poverty, removable only by fundamental changes in the whole territory's economy. A new spirit, new use of resources, almost a new race of men would be needed before this evil could be cured by a realization of the country's vast possibilities and by a new social attitude. 'Iraq in 1900 was a society of blighting shabbiness, low standards, and all the vices of the hungry and unsatisfied.

In appearance and amenities the 'Iraqi towns had by 1900 changed little for centuries. The same locally varying building materials, the same design of house, mosque, and bazaar, the same traditional ornamentation united the planless and crowded settlements of the nineteenth with those of the sixteenth century. Streets nowhere permitted the passage of wheeled traffic; huddled narrow lanes provided bare space for donkeys or porters to carry their loads. Only a few new buildings, and these of ancient pattern, varied the limits of the older towns or formed the new Baṣra suburb of 'Ashar or the 'Amara river front. Baghdad remained within its line of rubble heaps which had been walls, Mosul had spread the beginnings of a new quarter outside its narrower ring; the walls of Baṣra were in ruins, those of Kirkuk or Arbil barely remembered. The bazaars and warehouses, commercial heart of the townships, were guarded by watchmen-contractors whose

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technique included blackmail. Rickety boat-bridges served a dozen of the riverain towns. Street lighting consisted, at the best, of a few battered oil-lamps. Water was supplied by donkey-borne waterskins from the river, or from polluted wells in private court-yards; only in Baghdad was a single quarter of the town furnished by pipes with silt-laden untreated water. Municipal street-sweepers maintained some appearance of decency in the main lanes and bazaars, while filth and stenches abounded in the rest. Every town and larger village had cemeteries in its midst or on its fringes. Khans for caravans or wayfarers were found everywhere; hotels approaching the lowest European standard existed only in Baghdad.

Municipal administration was entrusted, save in unorganized villages, to a Mayor and his council. These functionaries, elected by procedures which could amount to Government nomination, enjoyed some local prestige; but their powers in practice were limited so rigidly that the local Governor in fact controlled all projects and all expenditure. Baghdad in the 'nineties was divided into three *baladiyas*, two for the left bank and one for the right. The Mayor was a member or nominee of one of its leading families or, rarely, a Government official. Municipal law was not inadequate, the code of taxation and procedure meticulous, its sphere of nominal activity reasonable. But in practice these administrations were corrupt and futile, and effective chiefly in providing a salary for a city notable and free servants for the local Governor. Nevertheless, pride of city was not lacking and schemes of town improvement were popular topics throughout decades of inactivity.

The picture of urban society of the period must embrace varying scenes. Baṣra with its miles of date gardens and network of tidal creeks, the activity of its riverain suburb—the sole seaport of 'Iraq—its daily contacts with Najd and Muḥammara, its rich garden-owning notables, its cosmopolitan merchants and agents, had a character unique in 'Iraq. Of the other towns of Baṣra sanjaq, Qurna was tribe-dominated, the growing village of Abu al-Khaṣib non-tribal, and Zubayr a desert-fringe town ruled by a hereditary Shaykh. Among Baṣra's leading families were those of the Naqib, and the houses of Basha'yan, Mandil, and Ṣani'.

Baghdad city with a mainly Sunni right bank and an all-Shi'i and largely Persian left, and its important suburbs of Kadhimiya, Mu'adhdham, and Qarara formed by far the greatest commercial centre in the wilayas. It was industrially important, administratively and militarily dominant. The city was mean, without modern improvements, without protection against river floods; it was adorned only by two or three monuments and mosques of interest and by the great shrine of 'Abd al-Qadir al-Gaylani. With

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its greater society of high officials, its circle of famous Sunni Muslim families, its half-Europeanized wealthy Jews—the houses of Daniel and Sasun (Sassoon)—its doctors and lawyers, its men of affairs and their busy agents, Baghdad could claim at least equality with Baṣra in the vanguard of 'Iraqi progress. In both cities a small European society, led by the Consulates and predominantly British, maintained its comfortable homes, its clubs and sports, and found life pleasant.

Mosul fell far behind; lesser in status and remoter from Westernizing influences save those of French Catholicism, the city acted as entrepôt for the Jazira and the Kurdish highlands, and maintained a restless yet unprogressive atmosphere among its mixed population. Despite the dignity of the leading families—Pashas of the province in bygone days, the houses of the Jalilis and 'Umaris—and some Christian families of repute, it was ill famed for its criminal brawling, its fanaticism, and its dirt. Its dusty and treeless glare, subdued only by the smoke of lime-kilns, attracted few visitors.

In the lesser cities of 'Iraq, Arab or Kurdish, the atmosphere and condition of society varied widely with the environment. Many towns had no interest but that of staging-post for caravans, produce market for an agricultural area, fuelling point for river steamers, or cantonment for troops. Others had more individual character. Such were Hit with its industry of bitumen: Kirkuk and Arbil as main entrepôts for Kurdistan and nurseries of Turkish-speaking effendis: Khaniqin as the frontier post for Persia. Mandali and Badra looked east to Pusht-i-Kuh in much of their sentiment and interests. Sulaymaniya was the capital of the southern Kurds, and dominated by its oppressive 'holy' family of the Barzinji Sayids. Ḥalabja was the urban centre of the great Jaf tribe, as was 'Amara of the Tigris marshmen and Naṣiriya of the Muntafiq. Kaḍhimiya and Samarrā were eminent as Shi'i shrines and pilgrim-places, Ba'quba, Shahroban, and Daltawa as centres for the estates of the landed gentry. The mid-Euphrates Shi'i towns were suffering at the time from a tragic disturbance of Euphrates irrigation. On the upper Euphrates, settlements of the Dulaym were turning into villages or miniature townships. In the qaḍhā headquarter towns of Mosul province—'Aqra, Dohuk, 'Amadiya, Zakho, Raniya, Rawanduz, Keui Sanjaq—urban life was developing and a class of town notables, sometimes religious, was holding its own against the tribal Aghās.

Yet more particular was the function of the Euphrates Holy Cities, Karbalā and Najf. These were at once the twin hearts of 'Iraqi Shi'ism (the greatest non-Turkish influence in the territory) and centres of the pilgrim and corpse-burial industries. The power

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Dulaym, and the southern Desert. At Police headquarters, control of the specialized departments of criminal and 'special' investigation, of finger-prints, passports, and training passed in these years from British into 'Iraqi hands. The Police strength, less than 3,000 early in 1921, was to exceed 8,000 ten years later: during the same period British police officers were reduced from twenty-two to twelve, 'Iraqi officers increased from two to sixty. Great progress was made in the Department of Civil Jails where, under all-'Iraqi management after 1923, prison industries were developed.

The urban life of 'Iraq, which in these years was taking its modern form and showing its differences of scene and atmosphere from those of the Turkish era, was sadly hampered in its development by poverty. This limited the activities both of the municipalities and of those central Government departments whose work was chiefly urban. Nevertheless, the upkeep and cleanness, the lighting and watering of streets, the maintenance of municipal offices and institutions, and the honesty and energy of Baladiya staffs, all showed a pronounced improvement on Turkish standards. The wearing of the characteristic 'Iraqi urban head-dress—the *sidara*, which superseded the Turkish fez—became universal in the towns. European dress, impeccable in 'Iraqi upper-class and professional circles, was adopted by more and more townsmen and by many tribal leaders who frequented the capital. Mosul was transformed, with its new streets, bridge, water-supply, public buildings, and gardens. Baṣra, extended threefold by the legacy of war-time port and base development, and now uniting the suburbs of 'Ashar, Ma'qil, and Makina, boasted new bridges, improved streets, 'Iraq's finest hospital (the Maude Memorial), and new buildings domestic and commercial. Baghdad, whose municipality ranked as a separate province in the Government hierarchy under the Amin al-'Aṣima (Guardian of the Capital), could show new buildings—the imposing College of Al al-Bayt, the Royal Pavilion, the Maude statue, and others. It possessed a modern fire service, hotels of Western type, adequate shops including some European, an improved water-supply system, branches of three banks—the Eastern, Ottoman, and Imperial Bank of Persia—scores of agencies for European goods, clubs both British and 'Iraqi, municipal dispensaries, a municipal Court. Its streets, however unplanned and still unpaved, were well lighted, crowded with wheeled traffic, and attempting wider alignment and cleaner upkeep; the adaptation of the old Tramway Concession of 1912 was still under debate. In the smaller municipalities, inadequate as were their resources compared with their requirements as now conceived, there were signs of new life in completed or initiated schemes of electric lighting, street clearance, bridges, town gardens, and a host of minor projects for which local pride was clamoring.

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jects for which local pride was clamouring. Municipal administration was restored to the Turkish pattern of an elected Council and a nominated Mayor, but with the abolition of many of the old abuses and sinecures. As modern and exact cadastral town plans were prepared for all towns and many villages, largely based on specialized air photography, property rights were better established, with good effect on urban enterprise.

Educational and medical services were well conceived, and showed substantial advance on Turkish levels. They felt their way haltingly from the capital and cities to the villages, but were cramped as ever by shortage of funds and of trained teachers and practitioners. Over educational policy there was conflict of views between those, including A. L. F. Smith the British adviser, who felt that teaching must above all be sound and based on moral values, and those to whom more and more schools, however staffed and with whatever standards, were the panacea for backwardness. If it remained, indeed, a generation later, a reproach of the 'Iraqi intelligentsia against the British that too little was done during this decade for education, the defence must be that there could be small value in mass-produced literacy, even if money, buildings, equipment, and teachers had been available, which they were not. Meanwhile the Education Ministry was the first to be by 1923 all-'Iraqi in executive authority. Government primary schools multiplied from less than 100 to more than 200. Graduations from the few secondary schools, in the three cities, began in 1924. Evening classes were formed for the training of secondary-school teachers—the first phase of the later Higher Training College. Primary-school Teachers' Training Colleges were maintained in Baghdad for men and separately for women: in the former some students were specially trained for teaching in rural schools, but to a standard later found inadequate. There was as yet no girls' secondary education, other than private. Government boys' secondary schools were few; post-primary technical schools existed at Baghdad and Mosul only. An American secondary school for boys was opened, under Dr. Colin Staudt, in 1921, another for girls in 1925, both in Baghdad; the former, like Van Ess's school at Basra, was an enterprise of the Dutch Reformed Church, the latter of the United Mission of Mesopotamia. The College of Al al-Bayt, to which the King was devoted and for which the Awqaf Ministry found funds, offered a course only in Islamic theology. The Law School flourished. The immense archaeological wealth of 'Iraq was not neglected. Excavation was carried out in 1922 and later by British and American learned bodies at Ur, at Kish, and at Tirkalan near Kirkuk. The finds of the German excavations at Babylon were distributed. The Baghdad Museum,

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The Health Department, criticized for an unprecedented malaria epidemic in Baghdad in 1936, seemed to call for reform and for a broader activity which should include the rural and backward areas as well as the towns. The period was one of many municipal improvements and considerable building and town-planning. Electric power and light, widened streets, a modern water-supply, improved conservancy, municipal gardens—these were now features of all but the humblest *baladiyas*. It was, indeed, the policy of Yasin Pasha to encourage the devolution of the local services into municipal hands, and funds were provided accordingly; later Prime Ministers followed his example. The passage into law of a Labour Code in 1936 reflected pressure on Government to insist, at least ostensibly, on something of modern standards in the treatment of industrial workers; but the Code had for the moment little practical effect. A law of 1935 prohibiting non-'Iraqis from practising certain trades seemed to threaten domiciled Indians, and was suitably amended and scarcely enforced. The 1936 law abolishing, under severe penalties, the use of Turkish titles—Pasha, Bey, and Effendi—in favour of the simple Arabic 'Sayid'—Master, or Mr.—was widely ignored among the general public and by Europeans, as indeed by Ministers themselves and by others in authority.

The application of the National Service Law, passed in 1934, devolved upon the Hashimi Ministry and could not but be imperfect. Wide tribal areas were in practice exempt; the accessible and the weak were exploited. Armed resistance, as has been seen, was not infrequent, desertion was common, and the payment of a low exemption fee to escape service was habitual. The machinery of recruitment was inefficient, census lists inaccurate, and the resulting military forces habitually below their authorized strength. Nevertheless, the 'Iraq Army, with its British Military Mission constantly in support, improved its training and equipment and its housing facilities, and was highly favoured by King Ghazi. Increasing from some 11,500 men in 1933 to double that number by the end of 1936, it was now organized in two divisions and, territorially, into four districts. Its armament and capacity were sufficient for internal purposes, its corps of officers good in the lower, indifferent or poor in the higher ranks. Unused on any operations in 1934—a unique event—the Army was busy with tribal suppression in the two years following, and was shortly to emerge as the arbiter of 'Iraq's political destinies. The Royal 'Iraq Air Force grew from a few machines to three formed squadrons.

The small surviving force of 'Iraq Levies, some 1,500 strong, was now specialized to aerodrome-guard duties under R.A.F. Command, and the Assyrian monopoly therein had been broken by the recruitment of Kurdish and Arab companies.

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721 exchanged between Nuri Pasha and Mr. Churchill: but no important practical results could be expected from this move, which at
645 best would serve to secure for the country a better place at the Peace Conference, and meanwhile to establish its leadership in the Arab world. Public opinion, which showed neither enthusiasm nor dismay at the declaration of war, and felt little resulting sense of obligation, was unlikely to support its Prime Minister to the extent of sending 'Iraqi troops abroad; nor was the Army yet capable of foreign operations. This condition improved gradually with the Allied successes in North Africa, visits were organized for 'Iraqi officers to the Libyan battlefields, and the British Mission under Major-General G. Bromilow, successor to Major-General Waterhouse, did what it could to restore Army morale and comradeship. Meanwhile, in default of fighting, 'Iraq's contribution to the
722 Allied war effort was not negligible; camp sites and lands were offered without rent, buildings were surrendered under requisition without demur. Economic controls were introduced under British advice; the management of river traffic and the Port was shared or surrendered, and the widest military use of the railway system accepted. Priority was given to Army man-power requirements, the telegraph and telephone system placed at military disposal, and grain supplies provided.

361 Difficulties of procurement, and the economic unbalance which
185 was afflicting 'Iraq at this period, prevented the pursuit of such major projects as had been intended. Nevertheless, urban development could proceed—not least in the capital—suburbs could be planned and partly built, and a beginning could be made with working-class dwellings to replace insanitary labyrinths of mud and petrol-tin hovels: indeed, the war years witnessed great changes in the aspect of the towns. Municipal institutions themselves were multiplying and developing; and, small as were the resources of most corporations, the total of their revenues tripled during these five years. By a pleasing gesture the Lord Mayor of London presented, with suitable fraternal messages, a chain of
744 office to the Amin al-'Aṣima. The Health services continued to develop. Doctors working for the Administration and private practitioners increased in numbers, recruited mainly from the Royal Medical College in Baghdad. British specialists, who had served the country and their science now for twenty years, still played their invaluable part. In Education also the period was far
871 from one of stagnation. A revised Public Education Law was passed; primary, intermediate, and secondary schools—boys, girls, and mixed—all rose in numbers, and many new private schools were founded. Pupils sent for higher studies abroad were few during the war, but the flow recommenced strongly in 1944. A

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241 185 473 The Laṭifiya was no longer the only large-scale modern estate in operation. The Date Board, which had done much to modernize and stabilize the production and marketing of dates—and not those of the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab only—had wisely retained the system of export monopoly, with suitable amendment of terms and prices, throughout the war and after it, but the three-year extension granted to Andrew Weir & Company in 1950 was likely to be the last; the National Date Trading Company founded in that year would probably assume the functions of the export monopolist. Of the Company's own shares, 49 per cent. were allotted to the Date Association, 26 to the public, and 25 to the foreign packers and exporters.

654 242 185 Government maintained a College of Agriculture with a three-year course and main experimental estates at Abu Ghurayb (for agronomy, animal husbandry, pests, and soils) and at Za'faraniya (for horticulture, fruit, and vegetables), with smaller stations at Bakrajo, Ḥawija, Nineveh, Aski Kellek, and Baṣra, a main forestry station at Arbil, and nurseries in every liwā. Its experts selected, tested, and issued new seed varieties designed for higher yield, quality, and resistance: combated pests, notably by locust campaigns in the technique of which 'Iraq claimed to lead the world: caused the erection of a grain silo at Baghdad, and proposed another and greater at Baṣra, with modern grain storage bins at many centres. The department was in touch with local industry which could use as raw materials 'Iraqi oil-seeds, cotton, dates, barley, beet, wool, and tobacco. It was planning large-scale experiments in estate-management, and seeking crop rotations which would diminish the use of a fallowing system now recognized as intolerably wasteful. It was encouraging the growth of rural co-operative societies under the 1944 law, increasing its departmental Inspectorate, and founding Chambers of Agriculture. It interested itself in rural education and established agricultural schools in every liwā. It was promoting village settlement, in which field the interesting and promising Dujayla smallholding community (p. 323) was extended and perfected, and the foundation of others in the Ḥawija and elsewhere was put in hand. The Development Board allotted in 1951 more than 4 million dinars for the provision, in six years, of artesian wells and drinking-water supplies. The mechanization of agriculture was fostered by a country-wide system of depots and repair shops, administered as a Government monopoly under a special law and a separate Directorate-General; indeed, all the importance of mechanization—even with its serious difficulties of proper maintenance and supply—was appreciated as part of a future 'Iraqi agriculture which with great new areas under controlled irrigation was likely to find not land or water but man-

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old, mere trouble and recalcitrance, but a contribution both economically and politically valuable to a modern State.

In the towns, an observer of conditions in 1950 was faced with the same dilemma as in the tribes: how extensive was the change, if any, which fifty years had brought about? Outwardly at least, it was considerable. If some parts of the towns were as narrow, airless, and planless as of old—if the same donkeys carried the same goods for sale amid the flies and jostling of the same bazaars—yet in the main traffic streets and the new quarters all was changed and unrecognizable; and modernized surroundings, with the public State services now maintained, could not but contribute to the sum of urban well-being. All the larger towns had improved approaches, modern suburbs ranging from a few villas to whole areas of planned streets, planted boulevards, public gardens, and modern public buildings[1] immensely superior to those of Ottoman Turkey, few and cheaply constructed as these buildings had been forced to be.[2] Street-cleaning services were—save perhaps in the labyrinth of an 'old quarter'—not inadequate; streets were well maintained, increasingly paved, and widened where possible. Town planning schemes were under execution with the inclusion, or the hope, of house-building developments for the working poor and for Government officials; and private enterprise in building was encouraged by the improved security, the well-kept title-registers, the development of town amenities, and the need for outlets for safe investment. In the capital a modern omnibus service—the autonomous Baghdad Passenger Transport Board—supplied all needs and would naturally be, as in Baṣra it had been, imitated in the provincial towns. Taxicabs were everywhere abundant and in Baghdad had nearly, but not quite, driven the ancient *'arabana* from the streets. Traffic control was excellent. Steel or masonry bridges had in many places besides Baghdad and Mosul replaced the primitive pontoon river crossings. Modern shops had come year by year into existence, and could provide buyers of all classes with all but exceptional needs. Hotels offered a near approach to normal European service. The cinema was well established; American, European, and Egyptian films were shown in some sixty picture-theatres throughout 'Iraq. Efficient fire services existed in the principal towns, and had well justified themselves. Systems of piped water and electrical installations for power and lighting had been constructed in all larger towns; the

[1] The mausoleum of King Faysal I, built in 1934–6, is usually accounted the finest modern building in 'Iraq.

[2] Large sums were however allotted by the Development Board to building projects for the period 1951–6: for hospitals and health institutions, ID 5,400,000: for schools, 5,400,000: for other public buildings, 5,250,000: and for housing (officials and the poor), 1,650,000.

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APPENDIX B

Table showing (1) *area and population of each liwā'; (2) qaḍhās of each liwā', including H.Q. area;* (3) *area (sq. km.) of each qaḍhā';* (4) *population of each qaḍhā'.*

Liwā'	*Area in sq. km.*	*Population*	*Qaḍhās with* (1) *area,* (2) *population*
Baghdad	20,000	805,000	Baghdad (1,900: 552,000); Kaḍhimiya (1,100: 114,000); Samarrā (15,600: 91,000); Maḥmudiya (1,450: 48,500).
Mosul	48,000	602,000	Mosul (12,900: 340,000); 'Amadiya (2,700: 50,000); Zakho (2,250: 37,000); Dohuk (2,250: 40,000); 'Aqra (1,950: 32,000); Sinjar (16,900: 32,000); Shaykhan (1,400: 24,700); Tall 'Afar (8,250: 45,500).
Baṣra	12,300	352,000	Baṣra (4,700: 206,000); Abu al-Khaṣib (4,000: 81,000); Qurna (3,650: 65,000).
Kirkuk	19,900	286,000	Kirkuk (7,000: 148,000); Kifri (5,300: 48,000); Chamchamal (2,400: 30,000); Ta'uq (5,200: 59,000).
Arbil	18,400	240,000	Arbil (3,500: 86,000); Makhmur (3,500: 44,000); Keui Sanjaq (1,900: 31,000); Rawanduz (5,500: 46,000); Raniya (2,100: 27,000); Zibar (1,950: 6,600).
Sulaymaniya	9,400	223,000	Sulaymaniya (3,000: 77,600); Ḥalabja (3,100: 71,000); Shahribazar (2,000: 38,000); Pishdar (1,250: 35,600).
Dulaym (H.Q., Ramadi)	45,400	193,000	Ramadi (15,600: 111,000); Faluja (4,750: 49,000); 'Ana (25,000: 33,600).
Ḥilla	5,300	262,000	Ḥilla (960: 81,000); Hashimiya (1,900: 52,000); Hindiya (1,200: 82,000); Musayib (1,200: 46,000).
Kut	16,000	225,000	Kut (4,000: 82,000); Ḥai (3,000: 67,500); Badra (3,800: 16,200); Ṣuwayra (5,250: 59,250).
Karbalā'	6,000	277,000	Karbalā' (5,600: 150,000); Najf (400: 127,000).
Diwaniya	14,900	384,000	Diwaniya (1,800: 63,000); Samawa (4,700: 82,000); Shamiya (2,900: 114,000); Abu Ṣukhayr (1,300: 79,000); 'Afaq (4,200: 46,000).
Muntafiq (H.Q., Naṣiriya)	14,150	370,000	Naṣiriya (5,500: 111,000); Rifa'i (3,200: 82,000); Suq al-Shuyukh (3,800: 109,000); Shaṭra (1,600: 68,000).
Diyalā (H.Q., Ba'quba)	16,000	273,500	Ba'quba (2,050: 94,500); Khaliṣ (3,600: 69,000); Khaniqin (3,750: 57,000); Mandali (6,500: 53,000).
'Amara	18,750	308,000	'Amara (8,650: 184,000); 'Ali al-Gharbi (5,750: 36,000); Qal'at Ṣaliḥ (4,350: 88,500).
Northern desert province	94,700		Population nomadic, and included in adjacent liwās.
Southern desert province	75,700		

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3: Clark S-5 (1950)1951 MH1 Iraq MH1

CHAPTER ONE

THE BACKGROUND

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

An appreciation of the present state of education in Iraq and the possibility of advance towards the goal of compulsory education is not possible without some reference to the history and present circumstances of the country.

Following centuries during which a brilliant civilization flourished, particularly during the Abbasid period, the country remained under Ottoman domination from the middle of the sixteenth century until the first world war. British interest in the port of Basra and the development of the oilfields caused the people to fear a continuance of alien domination but, after an uneasy mandate, the country now known as Iraq emerged in 1932 as an independent nation with membership of the League of Nations. The long period of Ottoman domination with an administration centred in a distant capital left its mark. Administrative reforms and some social advance were attempted during the period of the mandate. When, however, Iraq became an independent State its Government was faced with a legacy of ignorance, poverty and disease among all but a very small minority of the population. Attempts have been made by successive Governments to liquidate the effects of this legacy and, in certain directions, rapid and significant progress has been made. But economic, social and political problems of great magnitude remain, all of which have their effect on educational progress or retardation.

Under its constitution the country enjoys a democratic form of government with a limited monarchy and a cabinet responsible to parliament. Despite the rapid educational advance of recent years, the majority of the people are illiterate, and effective participation in the government of the country must inevitably be confined to a few.

Iraq covers some 175,000 square miles, mainly of alluvial plain stretching from the Persian Gulf through the central uplands to the mountains of Turkish Kurdistan and from the Arabian and Syrian deserts to Persia. Apart from the four principal towns of Baghdad, Basra, Mosul and Kirkuk, together with a number of

3: Clark S-5 (1950) 1951 MH1 Iraq MH1

smaller urban and semi-urban communities, the country is essentially rural and dependent upon agriculture. There are, it is estimated, some 35,000 square miles of cultivable land, only twenty per cent of which is cropped in any one year. The country is watered by the two rivers, the Tigris and Euphrates, and is amenable to great irrigational projects. Some large-scale and subsidiary irrigation schemes have been developed and others are under way. Until capital is available, however, to bring much more water to much more land, large areas of potentially arable and pasture land will continue in a state of unexploited fertility.

With the exception of a minority who dwell in the towns and smaller urban communities, the population is sparse and much of it mobile. Out of a total population of some 5,000,000 roughly twenty-two per cent live in urban areas, forty per cent in settled rural communities, thirty per cent in semi-settled rural areas, and eight per cent are nomadic.

The educational and other social problems and needs of the country can only be appreciated if it is realized that Iraq is predominantly rural in character and modes of life and, minor industries and developing oil projects apart, is dependent upon agriculture for its existence. There is a certain amount of industrial activity connected with drink, tobacco, soap, vegetable oils, foot-wear, bricks and a few cotton ginneries, but, generally speaking, the industrial capacity remains undeveloped. Oil output, however, is rapidly increasing, and the royalties from this industry have already made a valuable contribution to badly needed capital works.

Racially, the inhabitants may be roughly divided into seventy-seven per cent Arabs, seventeen per cent Kurds, three per cent Jews, the remainder being Turcomans, Yazidis and Assyrians. The number of Jews has, however, decreased by recent emigration into Palestine. The inhabitants may be further divided into distinctive religious groups, ninety-three per cent being Muslims, three per cent Jews, slightly less than three per cent Christians, the remainder being of miscellaneous faiths. Despite these marked religious differences, a feature of the public educational system of Iraq is its great religious toleration.

Generally speaking, although the inhabitants are distributed into distinctive racial and religious groups, they seem to share some important characteristics which, to the educator, are hopeful and significant. A visitor to the country cannot but be impressed with the great natural courtesy, friendliness and open-hearted hospitality invariably shown by people of all ranks and groups. In addition to these socially valuable characteristics, many of the people exhibit a quickness of response which, in those who have passed

42 Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MH1 Iraq MH1
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I K 438 439 173 782 539

now a flourishing market for the surrounding country and for trade with Turkey. It has one feature of great interest: an ancient bridge of Roman design, known locally as "Alexander's bridge," though unlikely to be in any way connected with the great conqueror. Tradition at Zakho has, however, another tale of the construction of the bridge. It is said to have been built by a celebrated local governor, who found that the keystone would not remain in place. He summoned a soothsayer, who proclaimed that it would never stand until a life had been built into the arch. The governor accepted the verdict and with his councillors, who were sworn to secrecy, decided that the first living thing to follow them on to the bridge the next morning would provide the necessary victim. They waited for some hours, but no one came. Then the governor's little daughter wondered why her father was so long away and taking her pet dog she set off to look for him. Her father was at first terrified when he saw her coming, but was relieved when he noticed that her dog was running in front of her. Alas, she thought it unfitting for the dog to approach her father before she did and so she called it and stepped on to the bridge. Public opinion compelled the governor to carry out the sacrifice and the girl was built into the centre of the arch and the keystone held and has gone on holding for hundreds of years.

I K 653 185

The development of Kurdistan has naturally not been popular with all the Kurds, and I remember an interesting incident. During the construction of the Amadia road, an elderly Agha stood for a while sadly watching the blasting of a pulpit of overhanging rock. When echoes of the explosion had died and the last fragments of stone had fallen into the rocky gorge below, he turned sorrowfully away. "The old days, the old days," he lamented. "Many is the time I lay behind that rock with my rifle and held up caravans for safe-conduct money."

I K 721 361

The town of Amadia, which, like Edinburgh Castle, is situated on a rocky plateau at a height of 4,100 feet, sixteen feet higher than Cairn Gorm, is now easily accessible by road. The town was formerly ruled by semi-independent Pashas who admitted a nominal suzerainty to the Turkish authorities. It has a stormy history, and the minaret of the mosque is pitted with bullet holes. These are souvenirs of 1925, when the Barzan Kurds, in alliance with some of the descendants of the old rulers of Amadia, attacked the town and succeeded in surrounding the Mosuli qaimaqam and a handful of police in the Government serai. The stout-hearted garrison held out until they were rescued by a body of Assyrians under the Assyrian bishop, Mar Sergis, a jovial Friar Tuck of the Nestorian Church.

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that he can devote his full time to public health work. It will also be important to provide both the provincial and district medical officers with sufficient transportation to enable them to discharge their duties.

VI. Community Planning and Facilities

In the past, communities have unavoidably grown up rather haphazardly. The older parts of the cities are characterized by great congestion, narrow and winding streets, open drains and generally unsanitary living conditions. Livestock are frequently kept in buildings and backyards of major cities. Overcrowding has been greatly aggravated by the influx of people from the land seeking to escape the hard conditions of life in the rural areas and to find opportunities for employment in the cities. Many of these have simply squatted on vacant lots and on the outskirts of cities; they live in primitive, poorly constructed mud and mat huts under conditions of great squalor and without sanitary facilities. Baghdad has about 60,000 of these so-called *sarifa* dwellers and Basra probably no less than 20,000. In each case most of them have immigrated from the province of Amara where problems of land tenure and the silting and salting of land have made conditions of life unusually difficult. Sewage systems are lacking in all of the cities.

Villages are generally clusters of mud houses where, in many cases, men and livestock are not segregated. They have usually grown up around wells or along streams and irrigation canals under conditions where water pollution becomes inevitable. For the most part, safe water supplies are not available. The current flight from the land cannot be arrested as long as the ordinary village lacks the most elementary facilities of sanitation, medical aid, clean drinking water, and schooling, and generally offers little attraction to the person who wants to improve his lot and enjoy a reasonably comfortable life.

Dwellings of mud and mats are not of themselves undesirable. They have the advantage of cheapness and, when properly constructed, are well adapted to climatic conditions in Iraq. Often,

7; International Bank N, S-4 (1951) 1952 MH1 Iraq MH1

362 however, they are poorly built and too small; and they are crowded
342 together on sites and under conditions which breed disease.

Need for Community Planning

341 In recent decades there has been a growing awareness of the need for community planning, better housing and community facilities. With respect to villages, little has as yet been done except for the planned development of the Dujaila project. Here some effort was made to have houses erected according to standard specifications and to depart from the village-type of settlement by requiring that houses be erected in groups of four on the adjoining corners of four land allotments. As an aid to town and city planning there has been created within the Department of Municipalities of the Ministry of Interior a small planning section to provide "technical advice as regards municipal schemes for the organization and planning of cities and towns in accordance with modern principles". The municipalities themselves have been charged with "the division of the town into areas having regard to its development capacity and the specifications of plans to be followed for the improvement of streets, public places and buildings in such areas". The final responsibility for planning has, however, remained unclear. The surveys, plans and partial plans have generally been hastily drawn and with little regard for the actual conditions prevailing in the community. In any event, municipalities have for the most part continued to develop without reference to any plans. In many towns new streets have been arbitrarily cut through residential and commercial districts with little concern for real needs or for the people affected. The various ministries concerned with the erection of schools, hospitals, public buildings and bridges generally locate their projects without reference to an overall plan and without consultation with each other.

361 There is today a real need for integrated community planning.
647 The Mission believes that it would be desirable to work towards the establishment of a genuine Community Planning Office in the Ministry of Interior. Such an office should ultimately be staffed with an adequate number of experts versed in architecture, engineering and other aspects of town planning. The first step might be to strengthen the existing planning section in the Department of

7: International Bank N, S-4 (1951) 1952 MH1 Iraq MH1

Municipalities by appointing a capable, experienced town planner as director and giving him authority to build up a trained staff gradually. It could serve both the Development Board and local authorities in coordinating development projects on the community level and in ascertaining whether the projects for schools, hospitals, and similar facilities in any given community are properly related to the needs and facilties of neighboring communities.

Housing Developments

Public and quasi-public housing has received increased attention in recent years. The Ministry of Social Affairs, which is authorized to construct houses for workers, has built 204 units and has 185 units under construction. The low rentals on completed units constitute a definite subsidy to the occupants. The city of Basra is now building 750 low-cost houses in accordance with a plan that unfortunately was hastily and inexpertly prepared. Probably the best municipal housing project is near the old city of Bedra in Kut province where a new town site is being developed. The Railway Administration has provided housing for more than 2,400 of its employees, and the Port of Basra is also building accommodations, primarily for its junior officials.

Laws which require the construction of houses by industrial firms and large landowners have remained unenforced. Industrial housing is still little developed. The outstanding project of this kind is at Kirkuk where the Iraq Petroleum Company has been building a large housing development, consisting of 1,028 units, for its skilled artisans and officials. The cost of this project is such, however, that it is unlikely to be widely copied.

Most of the public and quasi-public housing is open to criticism on several counts. Use of poor materials, improper spacing and orientation, poor planning and site engineering have characterized some of these projects. The few public housing projects undertaken have been launched without adequate attention to the problem of how much rent the potential occupants could pay.

Establishment of a Housing Authority

In the light of these considerations, the Mission suggests that the responsibility for planning and supervising housing be entrusted ultimately to a Housing Authority located in the Ministry of Social

modations be built for government officials in the provinces in order to make living conditions attractive enough for capable men.

Self-help in Housing

Any housing program under present conditions should lay primary stress on the encouragement of self-help measures. The great majority of the *sarifa* dwellers, for example, could probably not afford to live in houses built by the state unless really large subsidies were provided, which the Mission does not recommend. These people can best be assisted by setting aside suitable tracts of land for their resettlement and encouraging them to build their own houses of mud and other readily available materials in accordance with models provided by the government. To insure proper siting of structures the government might assist in staking out the foundations and in providing some of the needed materials such as cement for stabilizing the mud floor. As an incentive toward completion, it might also furnish one of the final elements of the self-built house such as the roof or roof timbers or window frames. A project of this kind is particularly needed for the *sarifa* dwellers of Baghdad. The site of such a project should be well-drained, provided with safe water, sanitary facilities, a school, market and health center and located not too far from places of employment. The government actually started a project of this type but it was unfortunately abandoned.

Similar self-help measures are contemplated in connection with the new land settlement schemes. Here the government has a unique opportunity for new forms of community planning. The Mission has for this purpose developed a suggested pattern which seeks to combine most effectively the features to be desired in such a community. Details of this are set forth in the monograph on community planning. Self-help measures can, of course, also be stimulated in existing villages and small towns, particularly in the direction of constructing public latrines and baths, erecting needed community centers and planting shade trees.

Another means of assisting self-help would be the provision of an adequate system of mortgage credit. Private building has always been handicapped by the lack of credit available on reasonable terms. At the end of 1950 the total mortgages outstanding

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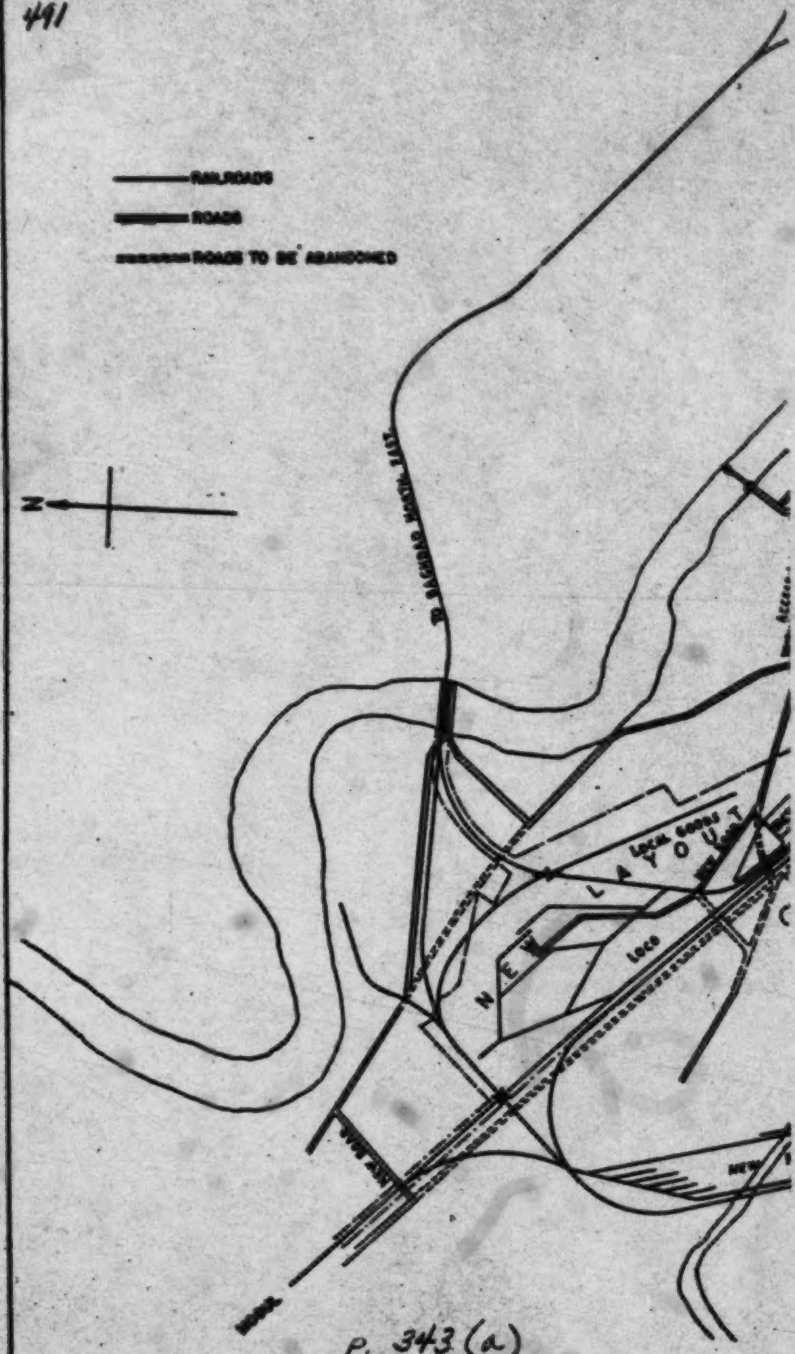

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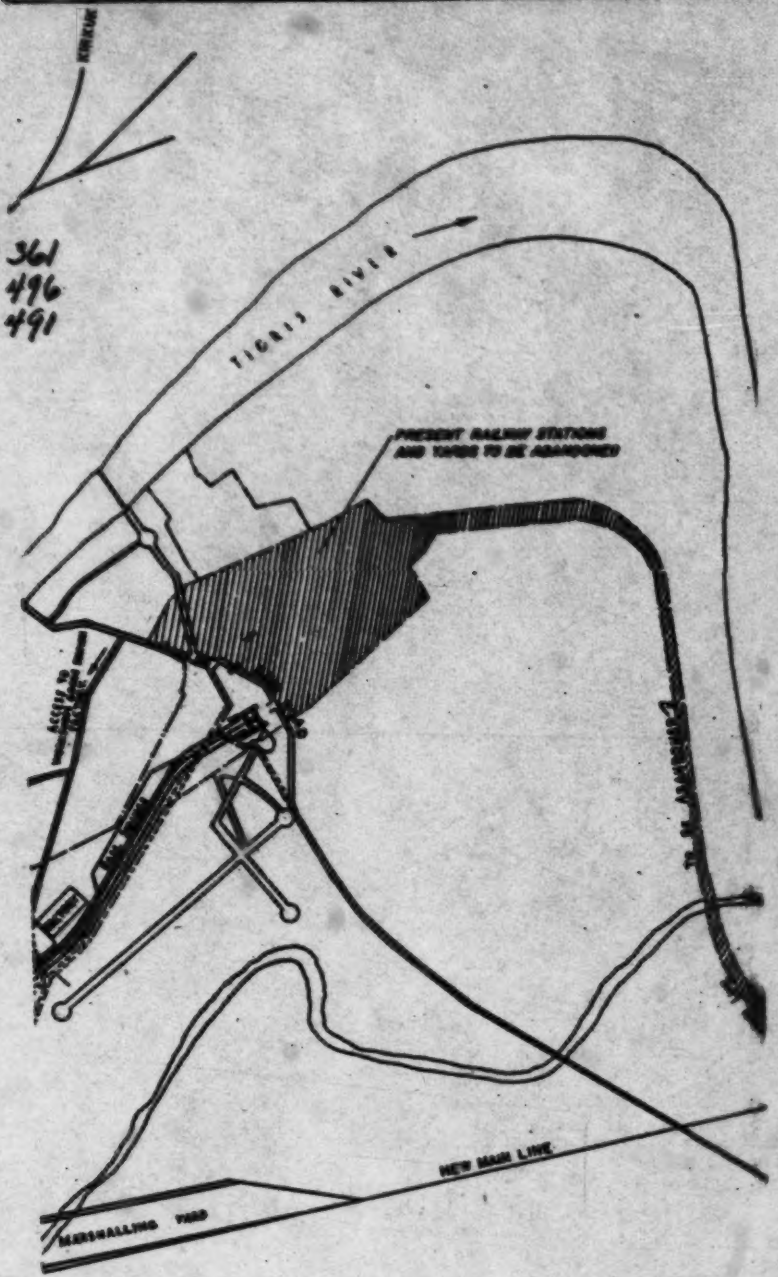

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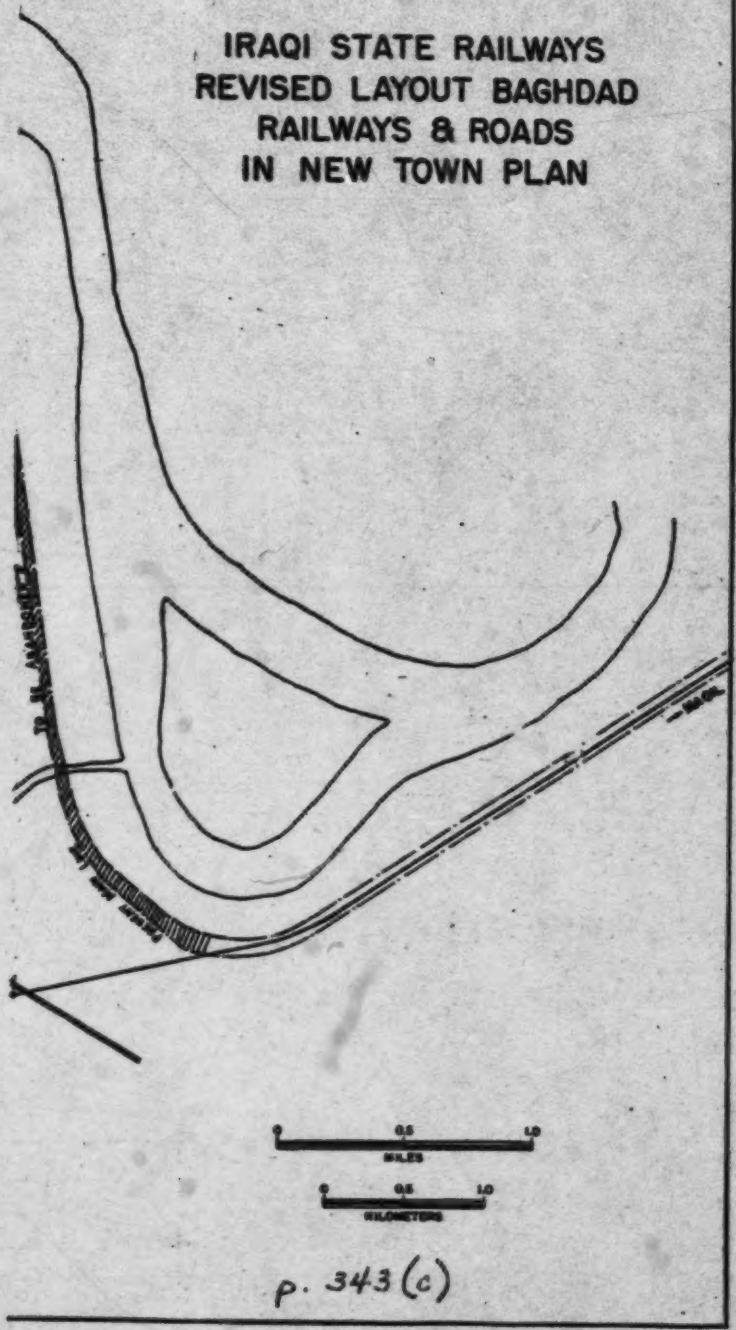
IRAQI STATE RAILWAYS
REVISED LAYOUT BAGHDAD
RAILWAYS & ROADS
IN NEW TOWN PLAN



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ANNEX H

COMMUNITY PLANNING AND COMMUNITY FACILITIES

I. Introduction

In its main report the Mission has expressed in general terms its view that more attention needs to be given to the problems of community planning and housing. Well-planned communities and a well-housed population are clearly desirable social assets; but it may not be so generally realized that they are also economic assets. The extra cost of good design and careful planning is small compared with the waste that ensues if they are ignored. In purely financial terms it is costly to maintain, and far more costly to improve, a city which has extensive slums and congested streets and whose growth does not follow lines that permit the provision of efficient public services.

The Mission has advocated the strengthening and improvement of the Planning Office of the Directorate General of Municipalities in the Ministry of Interior to take care of community planning, both rural and urban, and of the Housing Section attached to the Department of Labor in the Ministry of Social Affairs to take care of housing in all its phases. It believes that these related agencies should ultimately be developed into a genuine Community Planning Office and a central Housing Authority with separate and well-defined functions and with the power necessary to discharge those functions effectively and adequately. As a technical supplement to the Housing Authority, the Mission has recommended the establishment of an Applied Building Research Station which would conduct research on improved methods of construction and on the new use of available building material and, as such, would most suitably be attached to the proposed Department of Research and Standards in the Ministry of Economics. The broad functions of these offices have been described in the main report.

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In this Annex it is intended to describe more fully their functions and the principles which should guide them and to illustrate this description by reference to particular conditions in Iraq. It may, however, be well to note at the outset that the men needed to discharge the functions of these offices adequately will have to be trained, as there are very few now in Iraq who have even part-time training in community planning and housing. The sooner a start is made, the quicker the offices can be built up. Promising men, who have had some experience, could be sent abroad for further training and experience. In Iraq, courses on the subjects might be introduced into the engineering and architecture curricula for those who intend to pursue a career in either of the two new government offices. Initially, it might be necessary to employ an experienced foreign technician to give these courses and to act in an advisory capacity to the government.

The Functions of Community Planning and Housing

Community planning is the process of effecting the orderly layout of a community and the continuous improvement of that community for the physical, economic and social welfare of its residents. It involves the task of thinking ahead so that proposals may be appropriate, timely, and based on factual analysis in the light of the objective sought. In an industrial community, for example, it would mean, after a survey of conditions, preparing a plan which would allocate various sections of the land to the category of use, industrial, business, residential, recreational, and so forth, for which they are best suited, considering the needs and existing facilities of the community. At all times, consideration has to be given to the future growth of the community, both in relation to the existing development and to the bigger metropolitan area or region of which it is a part.

Housing is not as broad a field as community planning, but the two are closely related, especially as housing affects the standards and development of residential areas. Housing has for its goal the most effective utilization of available resources for sheltering for the people and providing for them, or helping them to provide for themselves, the facilities and services for pleasant living. This involves the analysis of the composition and characteristics of the population, the determination of their ability to pay for hous-

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II. Rural Communities

About one third of the people live in towns and cities; of the remainder, a small proportion are nomads and the bulk live in villages. In terms of population, therefore, the villages are the more predominant type of community. Although the distinction between a village and a small municipality is, as already noted, somewhat arbitrary, even the smallest municipalities are centers of local administration and have certain facilities of a higher standard than the villages. The distinction will, in any event, serve for present purposes.

Virtually all the rural population live in villages, isolated dwellings being very rare. Landowners, in fact, frequently count their fellahin by villages. Except for the extreme northwest, where there are seminomadic pastoral tribes who live in settled communities for only part of the year, the inhabitants of the villages are mainly cultivators. A few members of the community may have other occupations such as the tending of sheep and goats, the keeping of small shops and coffee houses or the building and repairing of huts. There are, also, villages where a considerable number of the people are engaged in handicrafts (e.g. weaving) but these are rare.

In the North, stone is generally available and is the commonest material for buildings, while in the South and the Center, mud is the usual material. The mud plaster of walls is reinforced with straw or cow dung to minimize the washing of clay in the mortar when it rains and to prevent temperature cracks. Where the climate is drier and palm leaves or reeds are available, especially in the marshes and palm belt of the South, these materials are more extensively used.

Another feature which distinguishes the North from the rest of the country is the greater permanence of the villages. The main reason is probably that there is a much older tradition of settled cultivation than exists in the recently irrigated areas. Not only are there more small-holders, who would naturally have a close association with their land, but the fellahin also appear to have A GREATER SECURITY OF TENURE.

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361 a greater security of tenure. Other factors, which have no doubt affected the permanence of villages in some parts of the irrigation zone in central and southern Iraq, are the salination of the land and the silting of canals. In such cases, the fellahin have no choice but to abandon their villages.

In spite of these differences, however, the villages have a number of characteristics in common. The typical village is a cluster of huts huddled together without any orderly design. There are no communal facilities or open spaces for the recreation of the
342 children. The huts are so constructed as to keep out heat, cold and sandstorms at the minimum expense. Consequently, they consist of a single room with thick walls and a doorway, which usually opens on a small enclosed yard that is used for both cooking food and keeping draft animals. In order to avoid sand and sunlight, windows are either very small or totally lacking; sashes are expensive. Furnishings are limited to such elementary necessities as a mat and a plain table or a bench. Sanitary facilities, including latrines, are generally lacking.

312 The villages are necessarily located near a source of water, by a canal in the irrigation zone, by a stream or a well in the North. The water is not piped, but must be carried from its source to wherever it is used. Nor is it purified, although the canals in the irrigation zone may be heavily polluted. The water which has been used by men for washing and in which animals have immersed themselves while drinking is often used for human consumption. The constant trampling of the canal banks for these purposes leads to leaks and, hence, to stagnant pools near the adjacent village. Where the source of water is a well, the earth nearby may be dug out for use in the construction of houses and so, similarly, a
[364] stagnant pool may be the result. Such pools, combined with the total absence of any sanitary disposal of waste and garbage, constitute a serious danger to health.

361 Trees are rarely seen in the villages, although they would give
137 relief from the sun and from sandstorms. Trees would also pro-
244 vide firewood instead of the fuels currently used—animal dung, which could be used instead as fertilizer, and brushwood, which has to be gathered with considerable effort. Small gardens for vegetables are unknown. In fact, fruit and vegetables are almost

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exclusively grown by farmers who specialize in these commodities and who market their produce in the towns.

Planning the Improvement of the Villages

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Clearly it will not be possible to bring about any substantial and lasting change in the state of some thousands of villages until the root causes of poverty, ignorance and insecurity have been tackled. Only then can thriving communities replace the present villages with their primitive and almost static mode of life.

361 185

Legislation for the improvement of villages is already in existence. In 1936, a law (No. 70) for the construction of new villages was passed, empowering the Ministry of Interior to construct or renew villages, having regard particularly to health requirements, such as the construction of sanitary facilities and public baths, the hygienic disposal of waste and the provision of drinking water. A draft law on similar lines, but placing the responsibilty on the Ministry of Social Affairs, was put before Parliament during 1951. Parliament sent it back to the Council of Ministers for amalgamation with the earlier statute. Both are admirable in objective, but both are focussed primarily on the reconstitution of villages on more hygienic lines without regard for the urgent educational and economic aspects of the problem and without recognizing the need to enlist the cooperation of the people. Only a comprehensive and popular program can really reach the people and encourage them to help themselves. That little, in fact, has been done under the 1936 law is itself eloquent testimony to this.

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The task of remaking the villages is typically one for the new Community Planning Office. In cooperation with all the government departments concerned and with their advice, it should be able to formulate and issue the necessary regulations, of which those that affect health are only a part, under the power conferred on it by the projected planning enabling act.

The Mission has elsewhere made a number of recommendations designed to raise the standard of living of the rural population. On the agricultural side, these include the organization of an extension service, the creation of cooperatives, measures to improve livestock and the provision of better drainage. Medical recommendations include the opening of more village dispensaries, the

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361 distribution of household remedies and measures to control endemic diseases. In addition, the recommended Housing Authority could design huts which could be built cheaply, would allow light and air to come in and would still afford protection against the elements.

The Community Planning Office should initiate and regulate a program to remake the villages according to simple, workable plans which conform to these requirements of economic and social progress and which do not merely consist of a more orderly layout of the village with improved huts. There is little point in improving a village if drainage fails and crop yields begin to fall. Education, too, is of fundamental importance. An adult education program as recommended in Annex G, *Education,* could help people to cope more effectively with their practical problems and prevent what might have been a well-planned community from deteriorating into its old way of life. Provision should, therefore, be made for the needs of education and cooperation by building a community center which could serve both as a school and as a meeting place. Shade trees, wood lots which would serve also as windbreaks and, possibly, small gardens could be laid out in accordance with the agricultural department's recommendations. Simple storage of grain could similarly be provided. Stabling and drinking troughs for animals should be provided in cooperation with the health and veterinary authorities. Water supply and sanitary facilities will also have to be included in accordance with health requirements. These are merely examples of the desirable attributes of a village designed to better the living standards of its people.

The Application of Self-help

In view of the magnitude and the continuing nature of the program, it is vital that the will to recreate the villages come from the people themselves. Unless it does, little of lasting benefit will be accomplished. In this connection, the method of aided self-help would be particularly valuable, since there are great potentialities in the force of example, one village following another. But, to be effective, the examples will have to be striking and of practical value. The Mission suggests as one possible approach that, initially, a few villages be selected in different parts of the country and plans prepared for their improvement. An important element in this will be the choice of villages. The villages chosen should have an

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intelligent and capable *Mukhtar* (headman), to whom the benefits of the replanned village and the methods by which it will be improved can be explained. He should be selected only if he shows enthusiasm for the plan and can carry his village with him. If such a man can be found, he should be consulted frequently, not only to give a sense of participation both to him and, through him, to the people of the village, but also because the *Mukhtar* may well be able to give valuable advice. In areas where the people are fellahin, the chosen village should be on the property of a landowner with a genuine interest in his people's welfare.

Once the plans have been agreed upon, they could be explained in general terms to the people of the village and the schedule of work outlined. Work should start at a time of the year when it will not interfere with the normal pursuits of the people. The first project should be one of interest to the village as a whole, perhaps the school. As the monograph on education notes, there have already been cases where villages have demonstrated their willingness to build their own schools. It would also be important to undertake at an early stage projects of obvious practical utility to the village, such as a piped water-supply with a simple purification plant and a drinking place for cattle. Ultimately, a start should be made on the rebuilding of the huts according to a design or a number of designs prepared by the Housing Authority. Preferably, this too should be a cooperative venture, each hut being built not by one family, but by a larger group which would build in turn for each member.

If work on the initial group of villages can be successfully completed, the country should have at its disposal several well-planned and executed demonstration units, where the people themselves will be able to point to the benefits they have received, largely through their own efforts. To the extent that they are convinced that, as a result, they enjoy a higher income, better health and a more pleasant environment, other villages will become keen to follow their example. Eventually, the program might extend to one village in each *qadha*, then one in each *nahiya* and so forth.

One warning must, however, be made about such a demonstration program. It should not be too elaborate. The initial demonstration units should not be show-pieces in the sense that

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361 they are elaborate and expensive to construct, require a great deal of funds and official attention to maintain, and the benefits are generally beyond the comprehension and appreciation of the average villager. They should, on the contrary, be simple enough so that the villager can both understand the improvement and be anxious to undertake most of the work himself, and will continue to do so for other future improvements. Otherwise, the people of other villages will merely admire the demonstration units and will feel that model villages are beyond their attainment.

New Settlements

Nowhere has the government a better opportunity for the planning of good rural communities than in new settlements such as Dujaila. Settlement in Dujaila began in 1946 and it is clear that a considerable effort was made to give the community an improved [44] layout. In May 1951, there were 1,058 cultivators settled in square lots of 100 donums each (500 by 500 meters). The portion of the Scheme which has been laid out has groups of four houses constructed at the adjoining corners of four lots.[1]

The cultivator is obliged by regulation to plant a garden of a specified area and to build his own house and those of his helpers within the unit under his possession. The Committee which administers the Scheme locates and determines the number of houses and decides on the period within which construction shall [342] be completed. The houses are made of mud or mud bricks, and each consists of a bedroom, a living room, a storeroom, a kitchen, a bath, a water closet and a stable covering a total area of about 80 square meters; a staircase leads to the flat roof. There is also an enclosed courtyard of about 220 square meters which is used by both the family and its livestock. Separate entrances are provided for the people and the animals.

Although the Dujaila settlement is a great improvement on the average village, it has a number of defects. The present layout makes it possible for each cultivator to have his house and those of his assistants on his own unit, but it has spread the population sparsely over a wide area resulting in long distances to community facilities, such as schools and stores, and a lack of the

[1] See diagram on pp. 348 and 349.

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social life which compact communities provide. Although a club is maintained by a cooperative, only a few settlers patronize it because of its distance from their homes. Pure drinking water and sanitary facilities are not available and could only have been provided at great expense.

In future settlements these defects could be eliminated and the community pattern improved by a more social grouping of homes and a more accessible and convenient location of schools and other public facilities. The Mission has prepared an example of such a layout.[2] The land is divided into farms of 300 by 825 meters. A number of these farms combine to form a Rural Unit ("A") within which there is a Residential Group ("a") of 60 to 70 houses and gardens, each lot measuring 30 by 84 meters. Although not adjacent to their corresponding farms, they are within walking distance, yet far enough from the main irrigation canals to avoid pollution. The total area available to each farmer is thus about the same as in Dujaila. The houses are staggered in order that each may take advantage of its neighbor's gardens and avoid overcrowding of structures. Except for the front walls, the house lots and gardens are without solid fencing. Screens of trees or hedges may be used instead. Near the center of each Residential Group and easily and safely accessible to children are a small school and meeting hall and an open space which may be used for recreation; and adjacent to these are the local shops. A number of these Rural Units combine to form a Village Group. At its core is a Village Center with its larger open space, a school, a mosque, bigger shops and other facilities commonly associated with a Village Center.

This layout is, of course, intended only as a schematic illustration. Since it is designed for a particular size of individual farm, suitable modifications would have to be made for farms of different sizes. It might also be found desirable to alter other features, for example, the size of the village center in relation to the outlying residential groups or the distance between them. The most important consideration is that the design, as finally decided on, should be based on a thorough study of all the local conditions in the settlement and the needs of the people who are to live there.

[2] See diagram on pp. 348 and 349.

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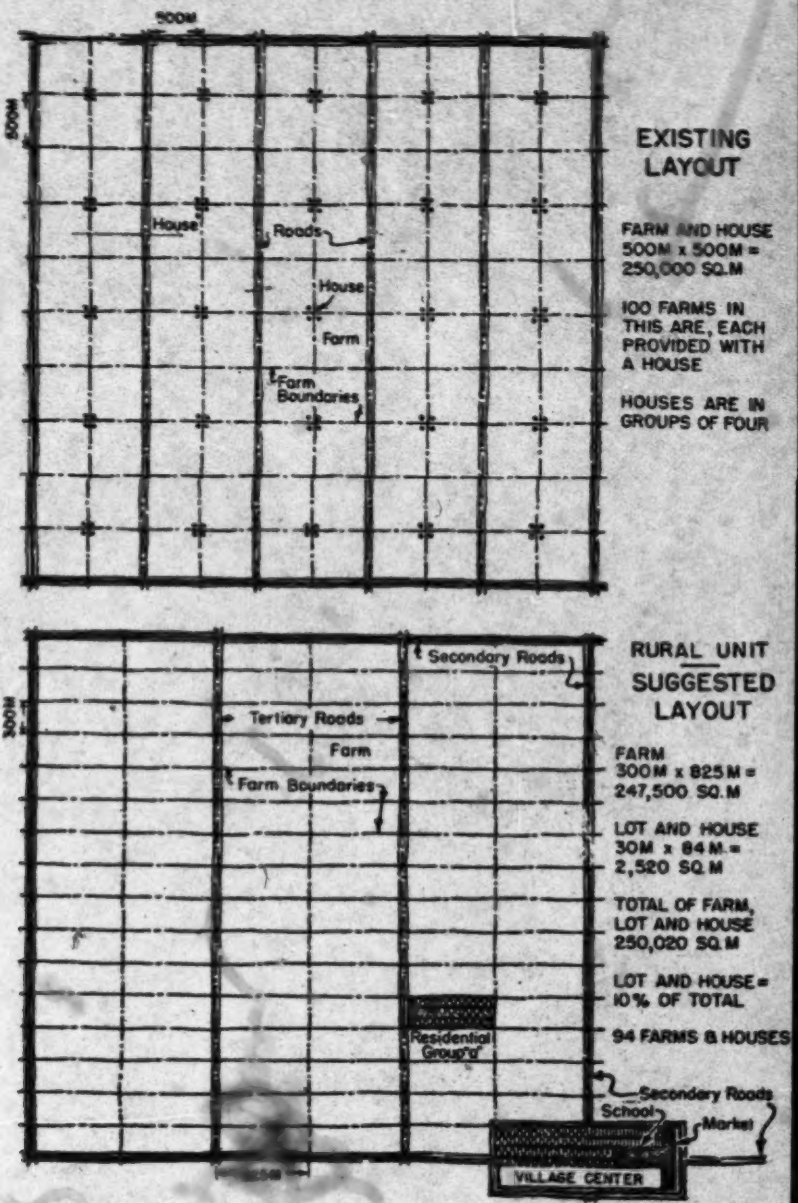

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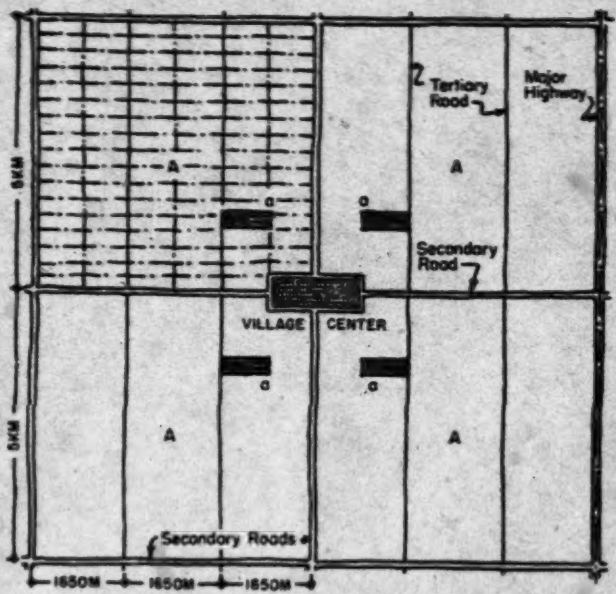
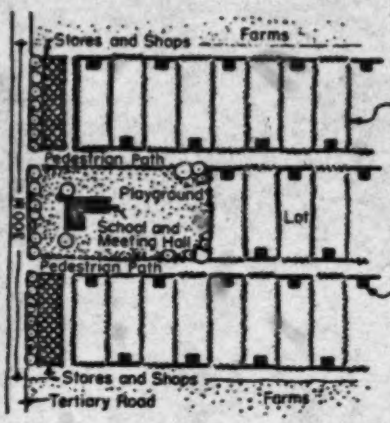


VILLAGE GROUP

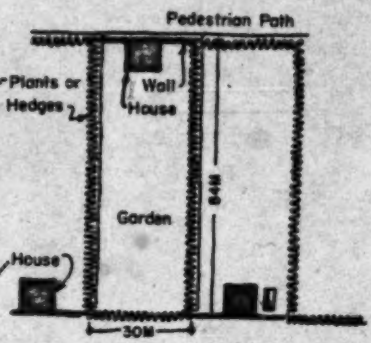
EACH RURAL UNIT 'A' MEASURES ABOUT 5KM ON A SIDE. ITS CORE IS A RESIDENTIAL GROUP 'a' WHICH CONTAINS HOUSES, STORES AND SHOPS, SCHOOL AND PLAYGROUND.

FOUR OF THESE RURAL UNITS FORM A VILLAGE GROUP WITH A VILLAGE CENTER COMPOSED OF HOUSES, MARKET AND SHOPS, SCHOOL AND PLAYFIELD, HEALTH CENTER, AND OTHER VILLAGE FACILITIES.



PART OF RESIDENTIAL GROUP

SEE 'a' IN VILLAGE GROUP SKETCHED ABOVE



DETAIL OF LOTS

NOTE THAT HOUSES ARE STAGGERED TO AVOID CROWDING.

DUJAILA LAND SETTLEMENT SCHEME

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The Mission has noted elsewhere other defects in the Dujaila settlement: the large administrative staff, the tendency of the settlers to become minor landlords, the lack of participation by the Department of Agriculture, and the rapid deterioration of the soil owing to bad drainage. It has been made too elaborate and there has been insufficient coordination of effort. As a result, the settler relies too much on the benefits he has been given and too little on self-help, largely because self-help has not been aided in the way it should be by the concerted action of the appropriate government departments.

III. Urban Communities

The municipalities in Iraq range from Baghdad, the capital, with well over half a million inhabitants down to small towns with less than a thousand inhabitants. They cannot, therefore, be considered as a homogeneous group. The largest of them have certain distinctive functions.

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Baghdad is the seat of the government, the center of much of the wholesale trade and the hub of the rail and road systems. Since the war, a number of modern factories have been built so that industry is now becoming an important element. It is a rapidly growing city, a particularly large influx having occurred during the war. Growth has taken place along both banks of the Tigris, expansion away from the river being limited by the bunds, which protect the city from flood.

Mosul, the second largest city, has less than a quarter of the population of Baghdad. Lying on the rail line to Turkey, Syria and Lebanon, it is a center of trade to the west, especially in wool. Associated with this trade are industries such as the cleaning and packing of wool and the tanning of hides. In addition, there is a sizeable cotton and rayon textile industry, both factory and handicraft. It is an old city and formerly the capital of the Turkish Vilayet of Mosul; it does not appear to be growing.

Basra, the port on the Shatt al Arab, is really a complex of three towns situated a few miles apart: Magil, the modern sea and air port; Ashar, an older port; and Basra proper. Apart from its

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port traffic and such associated activities as the packing of dates, cleaning of barley and flour-milling (a new industry), Basra is closely bound up with the development of the new oil field at Zubair, some 10 miles inland. Basra, like Baghdad, received a large influx of people during the war, especially from nearby Amara.

The population of Kirkuk, the fourth city, is believed to have tripled in the last 25 years as a consequence of the development of Iraq's major oil field. The two holy cities in Kerbela province, Kerbela and Nejf, have a large transient population due to pilgrim traffic from Iran and other Moslem countries. These two cities have many handicraft workers in such trades as jewelry, brass-work and embroidery.

These six cities, together with Amara, are the only ones with a population of over 40,000. With a few exceptions, such as Khanaqin with its small oil field and refinery, the other municipalities function primarily as centers of administration and trade for surrounding districts. Broadly speaking, their size varies with their administrative importance. Of the provincial capitals, other than those already mentioned, five have a population between 20,000 and 40,000 and three between 10,000 and 20,000. Of the remaining municipalities, none has a population exceeding 20,000; less than 30, most of them centers of *qadhas*, have a population of more than 6,000.

Despite differences in size and function, the cities and towns have a number of characteristics in common. The older parts are usually congested with narrow streets and alleys. Houses are built around courtyards, the only opening to the street being the main doorway. The houses usually have a flat roof or a partially open second story for sleeping outside in the summer. Brick is the commonest building material; most of the larger towns have brick-works nearby, many of which are small and primitive. There are also a few modern concrete and steel buildings, mainly in Baghdad. Schools and hospitals can be found in the heart of these congested areas. An important section in every city is the *Suq* or bazaar, a network of alleys, often covered by crude roofs forming a series of arcades. These alleys are lined with the small shops of retail merchants and handicraft workers in textiles and metals. The *Suq* is usually located near the principal mosque.

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361 363 The development of the new parts of the cities is in striking contrast to the old. Broad tree-lined boulevards have been laid out in the form of dual carriage-ways, the dividing strip being ornamented with flowers and shrubs. Along these boulevards there has been intermittent residential building activity, so that vacant lots alternate with the houses and gardens of the well-to-do. In Baghdad, particularly, many of these vacant lots have been occupied by squatters. In the largest cities, the new boulevards and the main streets are paved, but the paving is apparently of poor construction, as it has deteriorated rapidly. In the other cities and towns, however, the streets have merely been graded.

365 Most towns with a population of over 6,000, and a few smaller one, have both a piped water supply and an electricity system, which are, with three major exceptions, managed by municipal boards under the direction of the Ministry of Interior. The water is, however, not always purified and the electricity is invariably expensive. No city, not even Baghdad, has a sewage system. Waste water is disposed of into cesspools or allowed to run into the streets where it is apt to collect in stagnant pools.

The Lack of Coordination in Urban Planning

361 In spite of their superficially impressive appearance, the new sections of the cities have not been properly planned. Streets and traffic circles have been laid out according to prescribed geometrical patterns without paying much attention to their functions or to the need for creating integrated residential areas with appropriate housing for the different income groups and provision for schools, shops and hospitals or clinics. In the largest cities, the importance of allocating zones for different purposes and of establishing a proper interrelation between the zones has been largely neglected. Growth has been, in fact, piecemeal and spasmodic rather than coordinated and regular, and emphasis has been placed more on the ornamental than on the useful. Some traffic circles, for example, are unnecessary; others are even safety hazards. The practical value of new streets is vitiated by the common and dangerous practices of using both carriage-ways in both directions and of taking short cuts in the wrong direction around traffic circles. Sometimes streets have been ruthlessly cut or widened through built-up areas

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with little regard for the consequences; the remnants of buildings which have been sliced through at odd angles can still be seen.

By law, the Ministry of Interior, through its Directorate General of Municipalities, is already responsible for the planning of municipalities. The Directorate General of Municipalities in turn has under it the Technical Section for Planning and Organization (or Planning Office) which has among its duties the submission of "technical advice as regards municipal schemes for the organization and planning of cities and towns in accordance with modern principles" and the carrying out of "any of the said schemes which are required to be performed . . .".[3] This office with a staff of 17 does topographic surveys of towns and prepares development plans from such surveys. It also plans for and supervises construction of some municipal structures, including housing, and attends to legal matters concerning land sub-division and assessment.

Also by law, the Ministry of Interior has jurisdiction over the administration of municipalities. Law No. 84 of 1931, as amended, provides that municipalities should attend to "the division of the town into areas having regard to its development capacity and the specification of plans to be followed for the improvement of streets, public places, and buildings in such areas." This particular duty concerning planning is assigned to the Office of the Municipal Engineer.

Although both the Planning Office and the Office of the Municipal Engineer are under the Ministry of Interior, the two entities involved with planning are quite distinct from each other. Duplication of work and conflict in jurisdiction both occur. Municipalities prepare their own plans and then forward them to the Ministry of Interior but apparently they do so only for information, and not for approval. Some plans are merely sketches. Others have been made without surveys. Where surveys have been undertaken, they are mainly topographic surveys showing the existing layout of streets and buildings, and not the diagnostic surveys required by scientific planning. In several cases plans have been altered without submission to the Ministry. Some streets which

[3] Regulation of the Ministry of Interior, No. 39 of 1947.

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361 647 have been newly constructed do not appear at all on the records of the Planning Office. The Mission, in fact, found that many major details of developments such as civic centers, markets and the like, either were not shown in the plans or were contrary to the plans as prepared and filed. There were also instances where planned projects under construction were suddenly changed or stopped by a new mayor on his assuming office.

Cooperation of the central government with the local authorities has also been noticeably lacking. The Ministry of Education, without consultation with local officials, prepares school plans, showing not only the details of structures but also their location and distribution. Likewise, the Ministry of Social Affairs, without reference to local administration, prepares plans for hospitals, clinics, social centers, and housing schemes which form definite parts of the community. And, in similar fashion, the Ministry of Communications and Public Works prepares many plans for public works such as bridges, national highways and streets, and government structures designating details not only of construction but also of alignment, orientation and location. All these specialized planning activities are carried on with little or no coordination with the Planning Office in the Ministry of Interior. Even in Baghdad, where better cooperation between the municipality and the various government departments might be expected, a large school building was recently completed, abutting on a busy major thoroughfare, the proximity of which was dangerous for school children. The location was approved despite objections by the Planning Office.

Financial Difficulties

361 631 [151] Financial difficulties have contributed to the failure of the municipalities to plan more effectively. A large part of their revenues, which are in any case small, is derived from a share in the petrol and property taxes, the proceeds of which are handed over to the central government and, in theory at least, reallotted to the provincial and municipal governments. In years of financial stringency, however, the government has withheld a large part of these taxes for itself.

For capital funds, the municipalities have to rely on occasional loans—or, in rare cases, grants—from the central govern-

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ment, which are usually forthcoming only at irregular intervals. The loans usually have to be amortized over a period of 10 years or less, which places an onerous burden on municipal finances. The municipal authorities in a number of northern cities, which were allocated funds in the fall of 1950 and had spent a large part of them at the time of the Mission's visit, were still in doubt as to whether they had received a grant or a loan. Uncertainty as to income or capital funds inhibits advance planning. Moreover, when the authorities do receive funds, they are apt to spend them as fast as possible for fear that, if they have not actually been spent, they may otherwise be withheld. The usual way of overcoming this situation, and possibly the only way in the circumstances, has been to build new streets, which are relatively easy to plan and execute. In addition, the municipality is by law entitled to recoup part of its expenses from the owners of land that has increased in value.

The provincial authorities, who are responsible for carrying out the projects of the central government and who might be expected to cooperate more closely with the municipalities, have been faced with similar difficulties. They, too, have had hand-to-mouth experience with capital expenditures. Nearly completed buildings have sometimes been left standing for months, because funds ran out before the construction could be finished. Furthermore, the projects to be undertaken are normally prescribed by the central government. Apparently, some advance on this procedure has been made recently and the *Mutasarrif* and the Provincial Administrative Councils have been given more latitude in planning their own development.

Planning in the Future

The opportunity now exists to substitute an entirely new approach to urban development for the old haphazard methods. An example of how well the development of a town can proceed, given the right spirit of cooperation, is provided by the small town of Bedrah, which lies near the Iranian border in Kut province and which has a population of about 4,000. This project involves the reconstruction of the old town on a new site.

Several streets had been constructed and 24 dwelling units were ready for occupancy when the Mission was in Iraq. Thirty more units were scheduled to be finished during the year. Besides

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361 185 these residential structures, there were a number of community facilities: a dispensary staffed by the Ministry of Social Affairs; a primary school building for 200 students and a secondary school building for an initial enrollment of 30 students constructed by the Ministry of Education; and a clubhouse which had been paid for by the people themselves. The municipality intended to erect a market and to install an electric generator. Residences for the *Qaimmaqam* (the administrator of the *qadha*) and the physician were also scheduled to be constructed.

Plans for the development of the new site for Bedrah were prepared by the Planning Office and followed by the local officials in the construction of the project. Work has been proceeding for several years and has been financed largely out of past savings. The whole project has, in fact, been carefully thought out and planned ahead. The initiative was due largely to the *Mutasarrif* of Kut and the success of the project to his close personal relation with the Planning Office.

361 647 This example is, unfortunately, an isolated one. In fact, the present status of the Technical Section for Planning and Organization in the Ministry of Interior does not permit comprehensive planning. It has neither the authority nor the staff to guide the planning of public works or buildings that are currently the concern of other ministries. The need for coordinated planning undoubtedly exists, but the function can only be discharged adequately if the Authority is given sufficient staff, trained not only in architecture and civil engineering, but in all the economic and sociological aspects of town planning.

General plans for the development of each municipality could then be based on facts and drawn up with a schedule of priorities, and future work should only be sanctioned if it is in conformity with these plans. Such plans should be practical and preferably designed so that they could be carried out in stages and changed and improved as conditions may demand. The new Community Planning Office should be made clearly responsible for approval of these plans or any changes in them. As a safeguard, funds for municipal development should be disbursed only for purposes which are in accordance with approved plans. This will require amendment of the present Roads and Buildings Regulations, which

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are at present an amalgam of a building code and zoning regulations. These two distinct parts need to be separated and each properly administered.

While the Community Planning Office will have to take the lead in organizing the program, it is essential that it should not attempt to do all the detailed work itself. Although, in some cases, technically good plans may be prepared in this way, the result will be neither popular nor lasting and the planning authority may become a bottleneck. On the other hand, if plans are prepared independently by local authorities or by other government departments, the results will probably be uncorrelated and, therefore, unsatisfactory. The most desirable kind of planning is likely to be achieved by a combination of the two. Although plans should be initiated and later executed by the agencies immediately concerned, the central planning body should guide and coordinate them throughout the various stages. In the larger cities it could probably confine its activity to stimulating interest in the benefits of planning, advising on the preparation of plans and reviewing them at intervals in the course of preparation. In the smaller municipalities, it may have to do more of the actual work, but it should certainly endeavor to enlist as much local advice and cooperation as possible. As was noted earlier, imposition from above is undesirable.

Once plans have been drawn up, the financing of development should be placed on a more satisfactory footing. The principal source of funds for capital expenditure should be the Development Board. Whether they are in the form of loans or grants, they should be committed (although not actually credited) sufficiently far ahead for the municipalities to arrange a schedule of work with some degree of confidence. Loans should be made for a longer period and on less burdensome terms, especially as regards amortization. A careful study of a municipality's finances should be made to assess its probable ability to repay.

Slum Clearance

One of the major problems confronting the municipal authorities is the eradication of the worst slum areas of the cities. In Baghdad and Basra, this is a formidable undertaking, since the influx of people from Amara has been very large. Estimates vary

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PREFACE

000 IN Victorian days it was customary to preface a translated work with an apology for imperfections in the translation. I would say that I am not an interpreter such as those of the United Nations, who can listen to a long speech in one language and who afterwards can render it accurately and with perfect memory in another language. I am also conscious that these stories when told with a wealth of gesture and expression of face and voice were things of vivid beauty like rare butterflies, and in reducing them to paper it is as if they have been killed and pinned in a collector's cabinet.

101 These stories belong to the great Shia tribes of Southern
• 361 Iraq. I first came into contact with these tribes when,
233 coming over from the Western Desert in the winter of 1942, I halted on the road near Ur, and engaged a couple of likely-looking tribesmen to show me what local shooting there was, and to act as guides. The next day we drove far into the desert after bustard, and coming over a rise in the ground we saw before us a group of long, low, black tents; in my ignorance I turned to my two guides and asked them what the tribe of these bedouin was. Their faces registered horror and surprise, and they said: 'Those are not bedouin; they are Arabs.' Not having been previously aware of this distinction, I asked them how they told the difference between bedouin and Arab. They replied: 'We thought because you speak Arabic you

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would know the difference.' They went on to point out large numbers of sheep dotted around the horizon and they explained that had there been a large number of camels with a few sheep, then bedouin would have been indicated. Instead there was a large number of sheep with a few camels, indicating Arabs. They had to go on to explain that by Arabs they meant the great landowning Shia tribes, who are in the main cultivators of rice, dates, barley and a variety of other crops, but they send out their sheep on long treks through the desert in charge of some of their families in search of grass.

Most of the Arab tribes are dwellers in houses or clean, cool huts made of reed matting, which allows for a constant current of air through the hut, and prevents the temperature from rising to that of an oven in the hot sun, like a house. Many of these stories were told in a large guest house or tent pitched amongst the houses, with a background of sound varying from that of the cooking of a meal of several roast sheep to the powerful thump, thump, thump, of the great pumps. These pumps deserve mention, since they are often a tribe's principal pride and source of wealth. At one place I was surprised to hear that a boy's name was Rustam, since this name is more common amongst Persians and Kurds than amongst Arabs, but it was explained to me that he was named after the pump, and I understood when I saw the name Rustom stamped on an iron plate on the great cylinder.

The Arab tribes have a great military history of which they are justly proud. It is long and somewhat complicated, and to give in full the history of a single tribe as told by the sheikhs would fill a book greater in size than this. I will, however, give a précis of the history of that great group of tribes which were known as the Muntafiq.

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Maqdad came not. Rather he took another course, he turned and mounted Rishan, that noble horse, and he took up his great spear and he rode down on the Persian with the speed of the wind, nor could an arrow hit him, and in this manner he speared that Persian and killed him. Then he rode on to the two Persians who stood near the well and he came with such dash and speed that they had no time to draw the bow. And one of them he killed with his spear and the other fell down on the ground before him and begged mercy from him in the most abject manner. And Maqdad commanded the Persian to take off his clothes and the man did so and stood naked before Maqdad.

And Maqdad commanded and said to him: Go to your King, the Shah of the Persians, and enter his presence and salute him, and you shall be in your present naked state. And then shall you say to him: O mighty Shah, look to my condition and see my nakedness, for this shall be the condition of the land of Persia should you desist not from war with the Arabs. For when the men are slain who shall sow the fields? And the land of Persia shall become as barren and naked as I am now. And this is the message of Maqdad son of Thamir, the Arab warrior, and he is from the Fetla tribes. And Maqdad gave the Persian a horse from the six horses, and he mounted and rode off according to the order of Maqdad, nor was he wearing a single stitch of clothing.

Then Maqdad and Ibn Ali watered the horse Rishan, and they continued their journey, taking with them the five horses of the Persians, and their intention was to reach the camp of the tribes. And they rode until the sun was in the west, then they saw the black tents. And they rode up to the greatest tent of all, and it was the guest tent of the

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Fetla, and they tethered the horses and entered and saluted the assembly. And seated there were the sheikhs and the warriors of the tribe. They bade them be seated and they brought for them coffee. And the Sheikh spoke to them and said: O strangers who have honoured us, may we know your names, and from whence you come, and from what tribe? And Maqdad replied and answered thus: My tribe is your tribe, for it was the tribe of my father Thamir son of Degaither son of Mansur son of Maqdad son of Degaither son of Mansur son of Qais son of Hamed the Lame son of Mansur the Father of the Sword. But know you I have not before entered amongst you as was fitting, nor have I fought in battle with you, as before I was of tender years, but now I am a man, and I am skilled in the art of war.

And the Sheikhs and the great men of the tribes who were there assembled said: Your name is a known name, for well we remember your father and your grandfather. And out of his great courtesy the Sheikh asked of them concerning their journey, and Maqdad related those events which are known to you, my listeners, nor did he omit any word from the account. And the Sheikh spoke and said: Concerning the magician Zoro, we had information that such a one existed, and we had searched for him, but we did not find him. You have done well to encompass his destruction, for God was with you. But as for these five Persians you say you have killed, know you that boasting is unseemly, and how could a beardless boy do this deed.

And Maqdad looked and he saw disbelief written in the faces of those there present, nor did they believe his words. So he said: Look not at my face, for it is smooth, and neither my moustache nor my beard is grown, but

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your father's house, on that day shall I introduce him to the Angel of Death. And Salma said: Only take me away with you to your tribe, that I may be safe from evil. Kadhim replied: You have seen our camps and our villages, and you have seen how the walls of the houses are of mud bricks, and the roofs are of the cloth of our tents or of straw matting. But do you know the reason for this? We of the tribes do not close both our eyes when we sleep. Perhaps the Turks will impose an unjust tax on us, or perhaps a Turkish soldier will speak to one of our women and he will die, or perhaps someone will seek refuge with us and the Turks will command us to surrender him. Then will our Sheikh cry: Sheil, and in less time than it takes to snuff a candle we are gone into the desert with our camels and horses and sheep, and all our property, even to the roofs of our houses, is loaded on our camels and is gone away. And when the Turkish troops arrive they find only the empty mud walls of our houses, which they cannot burn. And they find our crops sown in the field and they find our palm trees, and they may destroy some of them, and they try to seek us in the desert, but they cannot find us. And then we will ride against the Turks and we will destroy their caravans on the road to Basra and we will destroy their boats on the river, until the Turkish Governor cries: Do not pay the tax, or, Do not surrender the fugitive. But you are used to an easier life, for you should have a house and servants of your own, and you should not have to drink the water from a camel's stomach. I will marry you, but first I mean to become a great merchant, that I may give you a house and brass cooking-pots and a servant and two anklets of silver and a bangle of gold.

Salma left Kadhim and returned to the town, and there

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TALES FROM THE ARAB TRIBES

1. The Story of Hajji Ali, the Great Sultan and his Son, the Amir Kheyyun

The Maadan. Page 12, Line 17. 'The Maadan shall bring milk.'

The Maadan are in the main a tribe of poor families, living in scattered communities on the shores of that great area of marsh and lake which lies between the Tigris and the Euphrates before the two rivers finally join to form the Shatt el Arab. Maadan villages often acknowledge the authority of sheikhs of neighbouring tribes, and they have no great tradition of their own. Their chief source of wealth was in the past their large herds of water buffaloes, their income being derived from the sale of milk and its products, lebn (a kind of curd), and clarified cooking butter. The sale of milk is regarded as shameful by most tribes, though of course all produce enough for their own requirements. In consequence the Maadan, with their trade in milk and hides, are looked down on by the tribes, and they are said to be lacking in honour. However in the last twenty-five years the Maadan have acquired large areas of agricultural land, and they are sharing fully in the increasing wealth of South Iraq. As for their honour, I remember a fight three years ago which took place between two Maadan subsections not far from Qarmat Ali, just outside Basra. This was a fight for a woman's honour in the best tribal tradition in which nothing was lacking either in the number of rounds of ammunition expended or in the casualties to bring it fully up to the standard of the great tribes in these matters.

2. A Story Concerning the Ignorance of Slaves

Slaves.

'Abd, or slave, is a slang expression in South Iraq for a Negro, and does not now indicate an actual slave. Slavery continued in Iraq to the end of Ottoman rule, 83 years after its abolition in the British Empire. In this story, therefore, the word would refer to actual slaves, and I have so translated it. The word 'habshi' (lit. 'Abyssinian') is little used in South Iraq, a Negro being referred to as a 'sambo' or 'abd'.

Crocodile. Page 20, Line 3. 'In that river was a crocodile.'

The word used was 'timsah', or crocodile, of which of course there are none in Iraq. I do not know if this indicates that this story

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Arab time. Page 63, Line 32. 'And the time was the sixth hour of night.'

Arab time has long since been abandoned in Iraq though it continues 805
in modified forms in the Persian Gulf and elsewhere. The Arab day of the week or date starts at sunset (e.g. the Arab Monday would start at sunset on our Sunday). The first twelve hours of each day of the week, that is, from sunset to twelve hours later, were known as the Hours of Night. They were followed by twelve further hours known as the Hours of Day, to complete the 24 hour cycle and to make one complete day. The sixth hour of night would thus be six hours after sunset, probably somewhere near our midnight. The Arab time system had many disadvantages, but probably for people living in the desert without watches, and therefore forced to use the sun or stars to tell them the time, it was as good a system as any. Sunset was the same for everybody and started the day, sunrise would in practice in the desert be considered to be twelve hours later and therefore the start of the first hour of day. Noon was, under the same casual reckoning, the sixth hour of day. In practice Arabs are extremely good at judging the time from noting the passage of the moon or stars, though I suppose that they will in time lose this gift through the present almost universal possession of watches.

7. The Story of Maqdad—He Was the Hero of Hilla

Hilla.

Hilla is an old Arab town situated at a crossing of the Euphrates 361
River near to the ancient site of Babylon. Al Fetla have of course no special claim to the town and I was surprised that Maqdad should be hero of Hilla rather than of one of the smaller places to which Al Fetla could lay a closer claim. I think one tends to forget that many of the smaller towns and villages were insignificant or did not exist at all until recent times. Nasiriya, for example, which the Muntafiq tribes now regard as their capital, and which is the seat of the Mutassarif of the Muntafiq Liwa, was only founded in the last century by Nasir Pasha es Saadun. Hilla must in the past have been the centre of a very much larger area than it is today. It is still one of the most important towns of South Iraq. It is well known beyond the borders of Iraq as

8;Campbell T-5 (no date) 1949 MH1 Iraq MH1

361 being mentioned in a nursery rhyme which runs:
[539]

Cukukhti, wein ukhti?	Dove, where's my sister?
B'il Hilla.	In Hilla.
Sha takal?	What does she eat?
Bajilla.	Beans.
Wein tenam?	Where does she sleep?
Bab Illah	At God's door.

and which continues for several verses.

The mace. Page 71, Line 16. 'A mace of the finest teakwood.'

411 The mace may almost be said to be a traditional weapon in South Iraq. If you meet an Arab tribesman about his normal daily routine in the countryside, he will probably be armed with a mace and dagger. Rifles are weapons of luxury, to be kept away from dust and damp.
[535] Many tribal dances are done with the mace, which is sometimes of solid wood carefully carved, and sometimes, a less beautiful weapon but more dangerous, it is made of a wooden shaft with a ball of lead or pitch at the end.

Page 74, Line 22. 'Maqdad took his course from the wind.'

821 Skilled desert guides can often recognise a wind as being from a certain quarter by its force, humidity, and temperature. The phrase here implies that the sun was clouded over and Maqdad was finding his way by the wind, which indicates that he had considerable skill. The only people who can use the wind are those who can detect quickly any change in its direction. I remember once asking some Arabs the way to a well, and they told me, Keep the wind on your left cheek. I had to use methods with which I was more familiar.

Page 81, Line 25. 'Now I shall call myself Ibn Ali.'

601 The kunya, or name defining a person by his relationship to someone else, is recorded both in classical and modern Arabic usage. Ibn Batuta, for example, a famous fourteenth century traveller, is known only by his kunya. The modern tribal practice appears to be to promote a man to a kunya when he becomes the father of a boy. A man who has become father of a boy named Qais will, for example, be hailed by his friends with exceptional heartiness for some weeks afterwards, 'Ahlan wa sahlan ya Ab Qais', and the name may or may not stick

2; United Nations U-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
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riya), and Sulaimaniya. The capital of Iraq is Baghdad, with a population of 552,047 inhabitants, according to the census of 19 November 1947. Baghdad, which is situated on the Tigris and is the terminus and junction of all the Iraqi railways, is an active centre of trade and traffic. Other large towns are Mosul (340,541 inhabitants), Basra (206,302), Amara (183,870), Karbala (149,710), Kirkuk (148,349), Nasiriya (110,934), Ramadi (110,684), and Baquba (94,482).

B. *General features of the economy*

Agriculture

Agriculture is the main resource of Iraq's economy. According to estimates, approximately 80 per cent of the population are engaged in it. The fertile land of Iraq, which was regarded as one of the granaries of the world in the time of Herodotus and which was carefully watered by a well-planned system of irrigation until the thirteenth century of our era, has since then fallen into a state of neglect. Agriculture began to receive attention again in 1921. As droughts, dust storms and plagues of insects (especially in the Mosul region) cause serious depredations, the government supervises the condition of the country's agriculture and stock-raising and takes the necessary measures for their rational development: it has set up experimental farms, which also produce good quality seeds for the use of farmers, and is encouraging the mechanizatio of agriculture.

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[Marsh Arabs]

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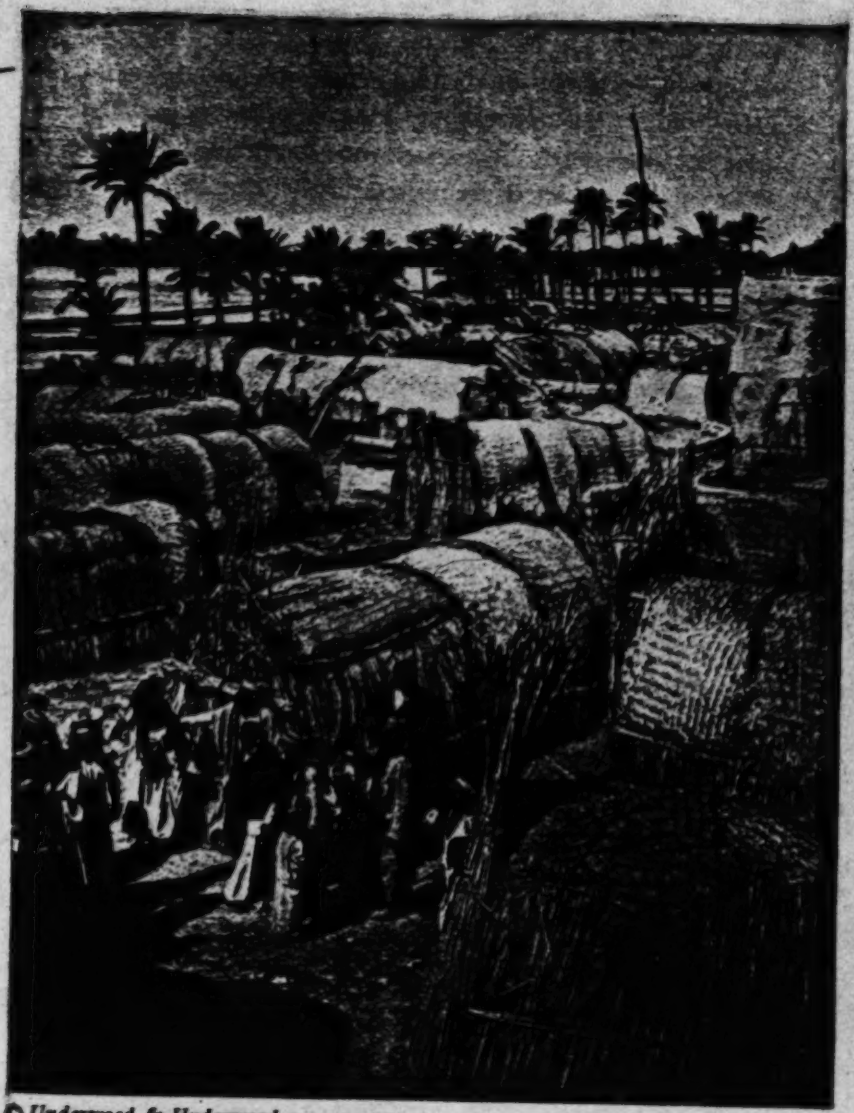

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AN ARAB VILLAGE ON THE LOWER EUPHRATES

facing page 112

[Marsh Arabs]

243 Bombay was. "No," he said, "here we make our bread
262 from rice flour. When the wheat crop is a failure, as in the past year, we have almost nothing else."

312 These overflow districts,* which are marshes in the spring when the rivers overflow, dry down to hard soil later in the year. To keep the water high for a few weeks longer than it would naturally remain so, temporary dams are constructed across some of the smaller streams, leaving an opening to allow boats to pass and water to run through. These dams persist in the face [342] of a strong current in a way that is surprising. Mud, tree branches, mats, soil and the like seem to be the only building material, for there is no stone within hundreds of [476] miles. The dams require a large amount of labor, and of course are coöperative enterprises. Possibly because of this necessity for coöperative effort, the Marsh Arab communities appear to have developed a good degree of community spirit.

• 361 Like their race everywhere, these Marsh Arabs do not live in isolated individual houses in the midst of their fields but collect in larger or smaller towns, some of them of considerable size. These towns are located usually in the fork of a river, or where several streams come together. In Lower Mesopotamia there are many small channels that carry water either ~~out~~ of the main
501 river or into it. The Marsh Arabs get about in picturesque, high-prowed, black river boats, black because they are covered with a thick coat of native bitumen which wells from the ground in one or two places in Mesopo- [135] tamia and is an indication, so the engineers tell us, that petroleum is to be found in that country. These river boats, which are the one means of transportation, are built somewhat on the lines of a canoe and take consid-

*[along the last 100 miles of the Arab river from Gurna to the Gulf -- Analyst]

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
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Only three cities, Baghdad, Mosul, and Basra, have a total population exceeding 100,000. *Baghdad* (population 1943, 300,000) lies on the Tigris at the head of navigation of the river, and in the 'waist' of the lowlands, where the Tigris and Euphrates approach closely to each other, and hence give the best possibility of constructing irrigation canals. This narrow inter-riverine zone also provides a convenient crossing-place, since the marshland is reduced in extent and the firmer platform of steppeland provides a useful east-west route between the Mediterranean and Iran. The region of Baghdad thus has an important nodal position at the junction of routes from east and west across the desert, and from north, north-east, and south along the river valleys. It should be noted that all the factors mentioned above apply to a region and not to an actual site.

It is easy to see why a town should have grown up within the district of Baghdad, but the extra smaller scale features that usually fix the site of a town in one particular spot are less in evidence. Local changes in topography due to the shifting of drainage channels have led to the growth of three separate cities at various periods, and so within the Baghdad region there has arisen first Babylon, the ancient capital that lay closer to the Euphrates, some 60 miles to the south of modern Baghdad. Babylon was in turn succeeded by Ctesiphon, only a few miles from Baghdad, and this city remained the nodal centre until superseded by Baghdad in the early Muhammadan era. Baghdad itself dates only from the 8th century A.D., and a 'golden age' occurred when its Abbasid rulers supplanted the Omeyyads of Damascus and made it the capital of the Moslem world. Baghdad suffered greatly from Mongol invasion, and most of the older buildings have disappeared. The modern city is sprawling and undistinguished—in fact, an extreme disappointment to visitors who may wish to evoke the 'Arabian Nights'. Many of the poorer houses are of mud, and flooding is a frequent feature (Fig. 65).

Baghdad is the commercial centre of the region, with numerous, but small workshops and distributing houses. Industry is, as we have seen, mainly confined to bazaar crafts—textiles, metals, foodstuffs—and to the production of pottery and building materials. Trade is for the most part in the hands of Europeans, Jews, and Armenians, with Iraqi Christians as clerks and supervisors. An upper class—mainly Sunni Moslems—carries on the administration of the country; and a third element in the life of the city is a large group of absentee landlords.

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East

361 *Mosul*, like Baghdad, dates only from the early Muhammadan era, though on the opposite bank of the river Tigris the ruins of Nineveh go back to the second millennium B.C. Like many other sites in the

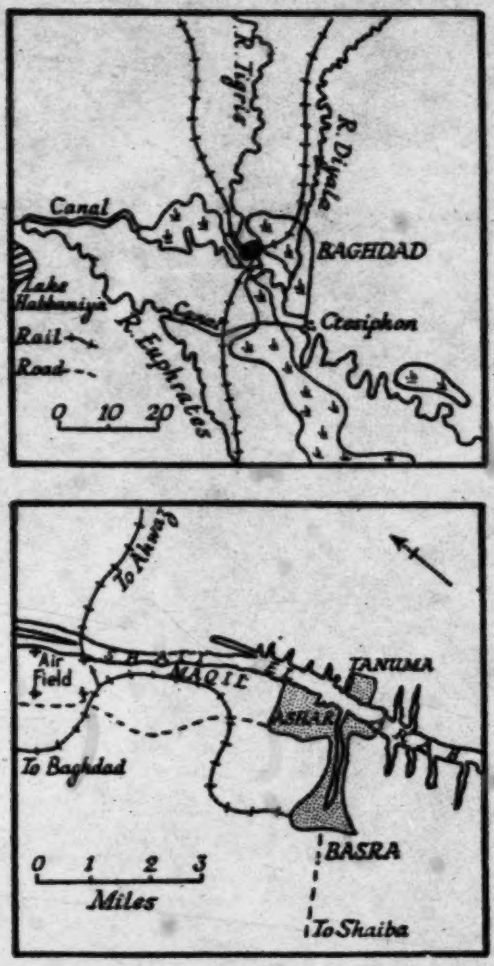

FIG. 65. The sites of Baghdad and Basra.

Middle East, the fallen clay walls of the ancient city form an enormous *tell* or mound. Here, again, is an example of regional factors outweighing local influences in determining the growth of a city. The importance of the city arises from its position in the centre of the upper basin of the Tigris, at the junction of four contrasting geographical

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
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regions for which it acts as commercial outlet and exchange centre. These regions are :

(*a*) The plains of northern Assyria, where there is a dense agricultural population.

(*b*) The hills of Kurdistan, occupied by shepherds practising transhumance.

(*c*) The steppes of the Jezireh, where there is a mixed population of true nomads rearing sheep, cattle and draught animals ; and sedentary farmers.

(*d*) The uplands of the Jebel Sinjar, where pastoralism and agriculture are carried on by the Yezidi.

As a result, there is extreme heterogeneity of peoples within the city. Arabs are in the majority, with smaller groups of Kurds, Christians, Jews, and Yezidi, most of whom speak their own languages. An important mediaeval textile industry (note the word *muslin*) has now disappeared, though coarser textiles using wool as a raw material are still produced in the bazaars, and a recent feature has been the introduction of artificial silk weaving. Mosul is also important for leather working—a reflexion of its position on the edge of the steppe. Manufacturing is, however, less important than trade : grain, timber, hides, and manufactured goods are exchanged, and there are long distance communications with Baghdad and south-east Turkey. Much of the produce from Turkey comes by kelek (page 364).

Basra is an agglomeration of small sites grouped along the western bank of the Shatt el Arab some 70 miles upstream from the Persian Gulf. Basra proper is situated on a small creek 2 miles distant from the Shatt el Arab, and the principal port is at Ashar, on the main river. Modern docks have also been constructed at Maqil, 4 miles upstream from Ashar, and since 1939, further development has taken place at Tanuma on the eastern bank of the Shatt el Arab, opposite Ashar. Because of the recession of the head of the Persian Gulf, the growth of the port is relatively recent, and dredging on a considerable scale is necessary to prevent silting of the channel. Basra handles the greater proportion of the foreign trade of Iraq, and is the centre of the date-growing region, being itself surrounded by date-groves. Dates form the chief item in its export trade. Second in importance amongst exports is grain, with wool, liquorice root, and hides as subsidiaries. Imports consist chiefly of manufactured goods (cement, cotton and woollen textiles, machinery), tea, and sugar. Basra can be reached by large ocean going ships, but about 10 per cent. of its commerce is still carried on in small native craft.

Sephardic origin. The majority have since migrated to Israel, while probably less than 10,000 remain, subject to certain restrictions. Over 130,000 were transported to Israel by the Iraqi government in 1950-51. About 5,000 Palestinian refugees have settled in the country since the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1948. Small numbers of British, American and other nationalities also reside in the larger cities.

As a whole, Iraq is sparsely settled, with the population concentrated in the river valleys and in the rain-irrigated highland districts of the north. The most densely populated areas are found in the river valleys of the northern delta. In 1947, the density of population in the provinces of the upper delta region was calculated at 131 per square mile in Hilla and 104 in Baghdad. In the northern provinces of Mosul, Kirkuk and Erbil it averaged 31 to 39 per square mile, and in Sulaimaniya, on the eastern frontier, 62 per square mile. In the south, it ranged from 75 per square mile in Basra province to 42 in Amarah, while in Dulaim, on the upper reaches of the Euphrates, it did not exceed 10 per square mile. The population is essentially rural: over three quarters of the inhabitants live in some 8,000 small villages or in semipermanent settlements. The Bedouin, representing about 5 to 8 per cent of the total population, roam the deserts with their flocks, but many migrate seasonally to the towns in search of work. There are only 7 cities with over 40,000 inhabitants. The population of Baghdad, the capital, was estimated at between 900,000 and 1 million in 1952, including over 500,000 in the metropolitan area and several hundred thousand in the surrounding suburbs. The population of Mosul, a commercial center on the upper Tigris, totaled about 150,000, and of Kirkuk, the metropolis of the oil region, almost 75,000. Basra, the chief port, located on the Shatt al Arab, had a population of 90,000 to 100,000.

In spite of considerable progress in education within the last 30 years, the majority

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were reported in 1923, 1927 and 1931. Since 164
1931, cholera has been almost completely absent from the country, although one imported case was recorded in 1939, when the disease was epidemic in Afghanistan and Iran.

Strict quarantine regulations are enforced, and travelers from India, Pakistan 744 484
and Ceylon, as well as pilgrims from Mecca, 164
without valid certificates of immunization against cholera are retained in quarantine centers for a period of 7 days. Mass im- 751
munization with cholera vaccine is carried 164
on among the populations in the border provinces whenever epidemics are reported from the adjacent territories. At the time of the recent epidemic in Egypt, in 1947, immunization was compulsory for all travelers entering the country and for the inhabitants of towns and villages along the Syrian frontier.

Helminthiases. SCHISTOSOMIASIS. Schis- 164
tosomiasis, caused by *Schistosoma haematobium*, has probably been present in the 136
lower Tigris and Euphrates river basins since ancient times. It is highly endemic in the southern and the central provinces, where the intermediate snail host, *Bulinus truncatus*, is found in widespread but often localized foci. The disease is prevalent 164
among the children and among the agricul- 462
tural and other laborers who work in infested waters, particularly the men and the boys, who are exposed to infection to a greater extent than the women. It reaches maximum proportions between 10 and 20 years of age, but is usually negligible in early childhood. Transmission is seasonal: 164
it takes place from May to the end of No- 515
vember, but primarily between June and October, when infected snails are most abundant. The insanitary customs of the inhabitants, associated with the frequent use of the canals for religious ablutions and the severe summer heat which is conducive to bathing in any convenient body of water, are contributory factors. The infection rates 164
average 18 to 25 per cent in the irrigated 361
districts of the delta, but vary from zero

p. 37(A)

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
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Distribution of Schistosomiasis in Iraq

to 80 per cent in different localities. The disease is most extensive in the southern provinces and particularly in the vicinity of the Hammar lakes and the Amarah marshes. It is absent south of Basra, however, since the salinity of the waters along the Shatt al Arab interferes with the breeding of the intermediate snail host. Foci of infection decrease in prevalence toward the north, but spread along the Euphrates to the Syrian border and, in the east, as far as the upper reaches of the Tigris and its main tributary, the Diyala. As yet the districts bordering the Great Zab and the Little Zab rivers are uninfected. The northern *liwas*, or provinces, of Erbil, Kirkuk and Sulaimaniya are apparently free from the disease, but a few isolated foci exist south of the foothills in Mosul.

Surveys based upon the examination of urine specimens collected from men and boys in representative villages in 1949-50[84] suggest a mean infection rate of 67 per cent in Amarah *liwa* which, because of the predominance of marshlands, is one of the most seriously infected areas in the country. In Basra *liwa* the rate averaged 23 per cent, but ranged from 26 per cent in the city of

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164 361 369 Basra to 75 per cent at Al Qurnah, in the fork between the rivers. In Muntafiq, the mean rate was 47 per cent, and in Diwaniya, 26 per cent, although some districts were heavily infected and others practically free. In central Iraq the disease was more irregular in distribution. In Baghdad *liwa* the infection rates averaged 35 per cent, but approached 80 per cent in some localities. In Kut, the mean was 48 per cent, with a decrease in prevalence toward the Iranian frontier. In Hilla, it was 15 per cent, with variations from 5 to 50 per cent, and in Kerbela, 28 per cent, with variations from 18 to 48 per cent. In the areas studied in Diyala *liwa* it ranged from 28 to 60 per cent, and in Dulaim it approximated 36 per cent. Subsequent surveys have revealed 11 to 18 per cent infection in limited foci near the marshes in Mosul *liwa*.

164 361 369 742 In a survey conducted in Baghdad in 1950-51,[57] ova of *S. haematobium* were found in 25 per cent of the urine samples collected from 285 schoolchildren and in 46 per cent of the samples from 242 inhabitants in hut settlements on the outskirts of the city. The prevalence was around 20 to 25 per cent in the suburbs, but reached 83 per cent in foci along the main road to Teheran.

164 462 Indigenous cases of *S. mansoni* infection have not been reported, but numerous cases of rectal involvement with *S. haematobium* have been observed. A dermatitis produced by nonhuman schistosome cercariae is common in the south and is often responsible for considerable disability among the agricultural workers.

164 462 312 744 Schistosomiasis constitutes one of the most important disease problems in Iraq. It is of major public health and economic significance, and the possibility of its spread with the expansion of irrigation is a matter of considerable concern to the government authorities. An active schistosomiasis control program is carried on by the Bilharzia Section of the Department of Endemic Diseases. This section maintains snail destruction and treatment units in the affected

164 provinces, and conducts research and field
462 investigations on the distribution and the
312 control of the disease and the intermediate
744 snail host. In the 7 years 1944-50, from 15,800 to 27,300 persons were treated annually in government hospitals and dis-
164 pensaries. The disease is considered com-
758 monplace in most areas, however, and probably not over 5 to 6 per cent of the infected individuals seek treatment under
743 ordinary conditions. Since 1949, special dis-
164 pensaries have been established in Baghdad, Basra and Kufa, while mobile clinics tour the most seriously infected districts. In 1950, there were 11 mobile units for the treatment of schistosomiasis, malaria and hookworm infection among the rural populations.

164 ANCYLOSTOMIASIS. Ancylostomiasis is
341 widespread in the irrigated areas, but the exact distribution and severity of the infection in the different provinces are not accu-
[134] rately known. *Ancylostoma duodenale* is the only species found in the foci studied. The infection rates are generally estimated at 10 to 20 per cent in the northern provinces and at 40 per cent in the southern. They are especially high in the Amarah and the Al Qurnah regions, but decrease toward the south, and are relatively low in the districts
164 along the Shatt al Arab. In a study reported
742 in 1939,[47] fecal specimens from apparently healthy men, 18 to 20 years of age, from various parts of the country were examined for hookworm ova. The presence of ova was detected in 25 per cent of the specimens from 125 men from Baghdad and in 46 per cent from 135 men from the rural districts of Baghdad *liwa*. Comparable examinations revealed ova in the specimens from 26 per cent of the individuals examined from Diyala *liwa* and from 25 per cent of the individuals from Dulaim. The degree of infection is usually mild, but serious cases with hemoglobin indices as low as 10 per cent are not infrequent.

164 Treatment facilities are provided by the
758 schistosomiasis control units, as well as by
742 the government hospitals and dispensaries.

164 corded; in 1940-42, a peak of 2,098 cases was noted in 1941. Over 1,460 cases were treated by the medical officers in 1946 and 2,026 in 1948, with a decrease to 736 cases in 1949. In the intervening years the recorded prevalence ranged from 18 to 700 [165] cases. The fatality rates have varied in different outbreaks from 5 to 40 per cent.

751 Vaccination against smallpox is required
361 theoretically, but enforcement is difficult in the more remote villages, and particularly among the transitory laborers and nomadic tribes. In some sections, as in the date-growing areas, mass vaccination campaigns are carried on during the date harvest season, when people flock to the groves and the packing sheds in search of work. At the time of an epidemic, vaccination is compulsory among all the affected populations.

164 Diphtheria. Diphtheria is endemic, and localized outbreaks are observed from time to time. In the absence of Schick test surveys, however, little is known regarding the extent of infection in the general population. In the 6 years 1944-49, the recorded incidence rose from 210 cases in 1944 to 903 in 1948 and 612 in 1949—an apparent increase which is attributed by the local authorities to improved facilities for diagnosis.
751 Immunization against diphtheria is pro-
164 vided in many of the schools in the larger cities and in certain of the child health centers.

164 Meningitis. Outbreaks of meningococcus
165 meningitis are sporadic, usually occurring during the winter months. In the 12-year period 1939-50, from 112 to 489 cases were recorded each year, while the fatality rates ranged from 8 to 35 per cent.

164 Other Infections. The pneumonias are prevalent, and are major causes of death in all age groups. Outbreaks of influenza are recurrent. Measles, whooping cough, chickenpox and mumps are endemic, and often epidemic. The cases of whooping cough are typically severe, and the mortality among the undernourished children is normally high.

Occasional cases of scarlet fever are en-

countered. The prevalence rarely exceeds 5 to 20 cases a year, but, in 1948, outbreaks totaling 185 cases were recorded. Rheumatic fever is one of the most important diseases of childhood, particularly in Baghdad. From 10,000 to 23,000 cases were treated annually in the government hospitals and dispensaries throughout the country in 1944-49. Poliomyelitis was formerly regarded as sporadic, but cases are being recognized with increasing frequency. With improved diagnostic facilities, 70 to 100 cases have been reported annually since 1949 from the children's hospital in Baghdad.

Diseases Spread or Contracted Chiefly Through Contact

Venereal Diseases. All forms of venereal disease are encountered, especially in the urban communities. Syphilis predominates among the recognized cases; congenital syphilis is common. The prevalence of the disease in Baghdad and other cities is estimated locally at between 2 and 10 per cent. Chancroid and gonorrhea are widespread, but the extent of infection in the general population is not accurately known. Lymphogranuloma venereum and granuloma inguinale are relatively rare. The cases of venereal disease treated in government institutions averaged about 38,600 annually in the 6 years 1944-49. Roughly 65 per cent were diagnosed as syphilis, 26 per cent as gonorrhea and 9 per cent as chancroid. Treatment is provided by the health authorities in the various general hospitals and dispensaries, as well as in 2 special venereal disease hospitals.

Bejel is widely distributed among the nomadic and the seminomadic peoples in the Tigris and the Euphrates valleys and around the marshes and the lakes in the lower delta region. Apparently a form of syphilis transmitted by nonvenereal contact, the disease is characterized by a predominance of mucocutaneous lesions, usually with a high degree of oral and pharyngeal involvement. It is associated with primitive conditions of living, and is most extensive

83:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
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Bejel in Iraq. Areas of Greatest Prevalence

in the settlements bordering the larger rivers and the marshes, where it is known locally by different names, chiefly *bejel*, *lawath* and *abou khisian*. It is believed that at least two thirds of the infections are acquired in childhood, with the maximum transmission between 2 and 5 years of age. Serious foci, in which the disease sometimes reaches epidemic proportions, exist in the southeastern provinces and along the Tigris and its tributaries in Mosul *liwa*. The districts around the Amarah marshes are probably the most severely affected, but infection rates of over 50 per cent are found in many villages in Amarah, Muntafiq, Basra and Mosul *liwas*. An important focus also persists in Dulaim *liwa*, in the vicinity of Hit and Ramadi. Surveys have shown moderately high infection rates in some villages, while in others the existence of 20 to 25 per cent of seropositive latent cases is suggestive of epidemic conditions in the recent past. The disease is present among the Bedouin tribes of the desert, but is absent among the Kurdish populations of the northeastern mountain districts. Indigenous cases are seldom seen in the towns, although a focus has been established in Baghdad,

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to 300 patients in residence. A comprehensive leprosy control program is planned for the near future by the Ministry, in co-operation with the World Health Organization. 080 744

Other Infections. Rabies is enzootic among dogs, jackals and other animals. The jackals, the principal reservoir, often invade the villages and the outlying sections of the towns. Human infections occur sporadically: in 1944-49, the recorded cases averaged from 4 to 32 a year. In the same period, from 739 to 1,365 persons were treated annually at the Antirabic Institute in Baghdad. The majority gave a history of having been bitten by rabid dogs. The Institute also prepares rabies vaccine for distribution throughout the country. 232 164 [743]

Anthrax is prevalent among the sheep. From 130 to 225 human cases are reported annually among persons in contact with infected animals, or among individuals working with hides or wool. Tetanus is sporadic: the known incidence totals 130 to 250 cases each year. Tetanus neonatorum is common, especially in the rural areas. Cases of human glanders are seen from time to time. Leptospirosis, or Weil's disease, is occasionally encountered in the southern provinces. However, no evidence of infection with *Leptospira icterohaemorrhagiae* has yet been found among the rats captured in Baghdad.

Diseases Spread by Arthropods

Malaria. Malaria is endemic or hyperendemic throughout most of Iraq. The distribution and the severity of the disease vary with the physiographic features of the different regions and the amount and the type of irrigation. It has always been regarded as a disease of primary importance in the country, but within the last few decades it has become increasingly prominent in the southern provinces due to the expansion of irrigation facilities. The cases of malaria treated in government institutions in the 7 years 1944-50 averaged about 598,800 annually. The case rates in the various provinces, based upon the at- 164 361 164

tendances in the hospitals and the dispensaries in 1950, ranged from 26 to 266 per 1,000 population. They approached, or exceeded, the mean rate of 111 per 1,000 in 6 *liwas*, being 106 in Diyala, 111 in Diwaniya, 155 in Erbil, 158 in Sulaimaniya, 205 in Hilla and 266 in Kerbela. While such statistics provide rough indices of the present prevalence of the disease, they contribute little to our knowledge of the extent of the problem.

The northeastern mountain districts and the irrigated zones along the Shatt al Arab and the lower Euphrates are the most highly malarious sections of the country. Differences in the average rate of endemicity, as shown by spleen surveys among children 2 to 10 years of age, are indicated on the following map,[41] in which the principal malarious regions are arbitrarily grouped according to the factors governing the transmission of the disease. Malaria is hyperendemic in the date-growing areas along the Shatt al Arab (I), which are watered by a complex system of tidal irrigation. In Basra, Fao, Al Gurnah and the chief towns, the spleen rates approximated 75 per cent in 1941, but were reduced to about 12 per cent by 1949 as the result of control operations. The rate of infection is relatively low in the marshlands of the southern delta (II), where *Anopheles pulcherrimus* predominates, but foci of greater prevalence exist as far north as Qalat Saleh. In Amarah and other towns, the spleen rates are estimated at about 8 per cent. In the lower Euphrates basin (III), the annual flooding of the river and the extensive system of gravity-flow irrigation from high-level canals create conditions favorable to the breeding of the vector species, *A. stephensi*. The spleen rates usually average 30 to 60 per cent, but in controlled localities, as Hilla, Kerbela, Nasiriyeh and Suq ash Shuyukh, they had declined to around 20 per cent in 1950. In the upper Euphrates valley, north of Ramadi (IV), however, irrigation is limited to small-scale projects employing pumps or more primitive meth-

83.Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
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Malaria in Iraq. Regional Endemicity[41]

[3/2] ods for lifting the water from the deep river channel, and malaria is only mildly endemic. The spleen rates in Hit, Anah, Haditha and such typical towns approxi-

[3/2] mate about 4 per cent. Lift irrigation is also employed in the middle Tigris region (V). The spleen rates are generally low, although scattered foci of endemicity exist where conditions are suitable for the breeding of *A. stephensi*. In Baghdad and other towns the spleen rates are normally about 3 per cent, but epidemics sometimes result when other species invade the agricultural areas from neighboring foci to the north. An outbreak in which *A. sachaṛovi* was implicated was reported in 1946-47 in the vicinity of Baghdad. A sharp outbreak also occurred in 1947 in a district north of the city, when the infection was transmitted by *A. superpictus*. Malaria is endemic, as well as epidemic, in the gravity-irrigated zones of the lower Diyala basin (VI), but a low level of infection prevails in the districts near the junction of this river with the Tigris. Spleen rates of 20 to 50 per cent are found throughout much of the area, approaching nearer 90 per cent in uncontrolled villages around Baqubeh.

p. 44 (A)

63:Simmons et al G-6 (1941-1951) 1954
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The disease is endemic along the Tigris, the Khazir, the Great Zab and the Little Zab rivers in northern Iraq, but the surrounding steppelands (VII) are relatively free. The infection was formerly widespread along the eastern edges of this zone. However, a marked reduction in prevalence has been noted within recent years around Erbil and Kirkuk, due probably to the fuller utilization of the mountain streams for irrigation purposes. In 1946, spleen rates of about 38 per cent were recorded in typical riverside communities, as Eski Mosul, Mosul, Kellek and Quwair, but in Kirkuk and other towns distant from the main rivers they averaged only 9 per cent. Since that date, control measures have been carried on in Mosul, and in 1950 the spleen rate was estimated at 5 per cent. The foothill regions along the Iranian border in Kut *liwa* (VIII) and in the northeastern provinces (IX) are highly malarious, or subject to occasional sharp epidemics. *A. superpictus* is the only vector in the southern foci, but *A. superpictus*, *A. sacharovi* and, possibly, *A. claviger* are responsible for the transmission of the infection in the north. The spleen rates in uncontrolled communities in Sulaimaniya *liwa* and in the eastern portions of Mosul, Erbil, Kirkuk and Diyala range from 20 to 100 per cent. In the valleys of the Kurdish mountains along the Iranian and the Turkish frontiers (X), *A. sacharovi* is replaced by *A. maculipennis maculipennis* at the higher elevations. Spleen rates of 25 to 90 per cent are found in different localities.

On the alluvial plains, malaria transmission takes place from March to November, with two peak periods, the more important from May to August and the second in October and November. In the extreme south some transmission continues throughout the year. The season is shorter and more continuous in the northern provinces, and normally extends from May to October, with the maximum infection rates in July and August. Further study is required for an appraisal of the relative prevalence and

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seasonal distribution of the different species of malarial parasites. *Plasmodium falciparum* appears to predominate in most localities with a moderate to high rate of endemicity, as well as during epidemics in all parts of the country. *P. vivax* is also widespread. It is often observed in the blood of infected individuals, even in hyperendemic areas, during the nontransmission season, and the local authorities state that it is unusually difficult to eradicate certain strains in the course of treatment. *P. malariae* is reported more or less sporadically. In certain areas in northern Iraq, it is being encountered with increasing frequency, and some evidence exists that it may be found to take the place of *P. vivax* as the principal species concerned with clinical relapses. Among the 2,865 to 4,281 cases of malaria treated annually in the hospitals and the dispensaries of the Iraq Petroleum Company in 1946 through 1950, from 8 to 53 per cent were identified as *P. vivax* infections, from 0.7 to 7 per cent as *P. falciparum* and up to 8 per cent as *P. malariae*. The remainder were diagnosed on a clinical basis. *P. ovale* was reported recently, but the origin of the infection was obscure. Blackwater fever is rare, although cases are sometimes seen in Basra and in the northern highlands.

Malaria control measures have been carried on in limited areas under the auspices of governmental or other agencies. The Department of Endemic Diseases of the Ministry of Health conducts anopheline control and treatment programs in highly endemic areas throughout the country through subordinate units in central, southern and northern Iraq. A rural health and malaria control project was initiated in the hyperendemic Tanjero valley in Sulaimaniya *liwa* in 1952, in co-operation with the World Health Organization.

Rickettsial Infections. Outbreaks of louse-borne typhus recur almost annually, but are seldom extensive, except under abnormal conditions, as during war periods. The infection is frequently introduced by

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only 1 case, in which the diagnosis was confirmed by laboratory examination, had been recorded. Potential sandfly vectors of kala-azar are apparently absent in the southern and the central provinces, but they may exist in the northern highlands. 164 369

Other Infections. Sandfly fever is endemic, and, in the delta region, reaches epidemic proportions every few years. From 842 to 4,688 cases were recorded annually in 1944-49. The sandfly vector, *Phlebotomus papatasii*, is widely distributed. The season of transmission usually extends from May to November, with a peak in June or July. Outbreaks of dengue fever are sporadic in the south. 164

Cases of elephantiasis of undetermined origin are occasionally encountered, but *Wuchereria bancrofti* is not known to be present. Guinea worm infections are sometimes seen in pilgrims from southern Iran, but no indigenous cases have been recorded. [484]

Nutritional Diseases

Undernutrition, anemia and avitaminosis are prevalent, especially among the wage-earning classes in the cities and the impoverished peasants of the south. Clinical manifestations of vitamin A and vitamin C deficiencies are widespread. In general, serious nutritional diseases tend to be more or less localized in distribution, depending upon the dietary habits and the standards of living of the people. Rickets is common, and from 100 to 2,387 cases were treated annually in the government institutions in 1944-49. Cases of scurvy and of osteomalacia are numerous. Beriberi and pellagra are sporadic, but minor symptoms of riboflavin deficiency are frequently observed. Protein edema is rare. A form of cirrhosis of the liver is encountered in which malnutrition is believed by some authorities to be a contributory factor. 146 511 361

Miscellaneous Conditions

Infectious hepatitis is endemic, and large-scale epidemics are reported occasionally. Encephalitis lethargica is sporadic. 164